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TROTZKY'S APPEAL TO RUSSIA to remove Stalin so that more Russians may live according to Marxist doctrines, and so that Russia itself may adjust its economic development to the world's economy, almost coincides with Stalin's new economic policy discussed by him at a meeting on June 23, but not published in Moscow until July 4. Stalin announces the practical abandonment of the five-day for the six-day week in factories, wherever factory work is not progressing satisfactorily. He also virtually sanctions unequal wages, establishes individual responsibility of directors of industry and workers, and readmits to favor engineers of the old regime, to whom he holds out an olive branch they have not known since the Communist rule began. These are surprising changes, especially his sanction of piece work and unequal pay, which the dictator defends on the usual ground that the present stage of the socialization of Russia is not communism, but merely a road to that goal along which any emergency measures may be adopted, however much at variance with the strict Communist theory. On the whole, however, this new policy is little more startling than Lenin's Nepman retrogression, under which a certain amount of private industry was permitted until all the state enterprises could fill the needs of the people. The Communist leaders, in other words, never hesitate to adapt themselves to emergencies, and they will have to continue to do so to carry on. But that does not mean that the next change of policy announced will not be another plunge in the direction of pure and applied communism.

WILLIAM R. CASTLE, JR., Undersecretary of State, in his address on James Monroe and his famous doctrine before the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia, did well to recall that it is thirty-six years since the doctrine was last invoked. He admitted that so far as the original purpose of the doctrine is concerned, there is no longer the slightest need for its existence; "one cannot see the remotest possibility that we shall have to invoke it again." None the less, he would not have us "strike it from the roll of American responsibilities," even though he is ready to concede that "there still remains in Latin America a certain irritation toward the Monroe Doctrine." "It accomplished its task," he added; "in the changed circumstances of the twentieth century it offers no threat, but remains an assurance of our unswerving friendship toward our sister nations of this Western Hemisphere." To this we reply that every source of irritation between us and our fellow American republics should be removed at once. Also that the Latin Americans do not consider the doctrine or anything else "assurance of our unswerving friendship" to them, for they have good reasons in many instances to doubt whether we have any friendship for them at all. They still believe that they remain at the mercy of the whim of each succeeding administration in Washington. We are nevertheless glad that Mr. Castle spoke out as he did and that he acknowledged the Monroe Doctrine to be useless lumber in the State Department's limbo of outworn stage properties.

THE FARM BOARD DECISION to sell only 60,000,000 bushels of wheat in the domestic market during the coming year is a pitiful compromise. There remain in the storehouses perhaps 240,000,000 bushels of wheat as a carry-over, which, unless they are deliberately destroyed, will continue to overhang the market just as long as they are on hand, even though the board has promised not to dispose of them at present. In so far as this represents the board's independence of Executive interference, it is of course, welcome. But the truth is that the board has admitted its defeat. It has wasted millions of dollars in its futile efforts to peg prices, and has blamed the disaster upon the farmers, because they would not restrict their production; and it now repeats that restricted production is the only way out for the coming year, during which it will, fortunately enough, waste no more funds in efforts to stabilize world prices. Naturally, the farmers are anything but pleased at this situation. Even the sale of the 60,000,000 bushels will help to depress the price of wheat, and we shall doubtless see a new demand for export debentures and other dubious remedies for aiding agriculture. If ever there were shameful waste of public funds and complete mismanagement of a most serious problem, they are to be found in this record of the Federal Farm Board.

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TWO WEEKS AGO we wrote that the circumstances attending the resignation of Dr. Ray Hall from the Department of Commerce had "thrown considerable doubt on the reliability of the department's business and economic information." Since then George J. Eder, chief of the Latin American Division, has likewise resigned his post, and under similar circumstances. Also since then Dr. Hall has brought very serious charges against the administration of the department. According to Clinton W. Gilbert, Washington correspondent of the New York *Evening Post,* Dr. Hall "says that the department suppressed information about the serious financial condition in Germany until it became evident that the American Government would have to take a hand for the relief of Germany." The dispatch went on to say that Dr. Hall once "reported from Colombian official sources that Colombia was in a bad way financially. The Colombian Minister protested. The report, copied in the Colombian newspapers, caused the fall of the government. When his next report on Bolivia came along Secretary Lamont took it to a Cabinet meeting, where its suppression was ordered. Not long afterward, Dr. Hall points out, Bolivia defaulted on its bonds with a large loss to American investors. It is suggested here that the Department of Commerce has not been alone in misleading the American business community; the Cabinet itself appears to have had a hand in the matter. The Hoover Administration must clear itself of these charges lest it lose completely the confidence of our business men and investors.

FLAG-WAVING and coercion have been enlisted by Matthew Woll in his campaign against communism. As acting president of the National Civic Federation, he has organized a committee of 600 men and women to carry on the fight with these weapons. Similar committees are to be set up in England, France, Belgium, Italy, Germany, Canada, and the Balkans. As the first step, Mr. Woll was indirectly quoted by the New York *Times* as saying, "those commercial interests in the various countries dealing with the Soviet regime would be asked to use their influence to force it to stop all propaganda looking to the overthrow of their respective governments, on pain of cancelation of all contracts and suspension of all commercial relations with it." But, Mr. Woll continued, should these commercial interests "refuse to exert such pressure, the patriotic and moral forces of the several countries should declare a boycott upon all Soviet products reaching their shores." Despite the growing criticism in the ranks of labor of his anti-Russian activities, Mr. Woll's strength must not be underestimated. Sentiment in this country for a more aggressive policy against Soviet Russia, with all the dangers that such a policy implies, is increasing. Not only does fanaticism of this kind hurt our trade; it is a direct peril to peace.

SAVINGS-BANK DIVIDENDS have kept up pretty well during the depression, but the action of a few of the larger banks in New York City in announcing lower rates for the July quarter probably foreshadows similar action by a good many other institutions there and elsewhere. The savings banks are in a peculiar position. Not many of the gilt-edged securities which were held by the banks as investments before the depression began have suffered dividend reductions, and income from these sources is reasonably secure. The great accumulation of idle money due to the slackening of business and speculation, however, together with the decline in the volume of new bond issues, the lowered rates on thrift accounts or time deposits in banks or trust companies, and the passing or lowering of dividends on hundreds of issues of securities, has flooded the savings banks with deposits because of the higher dividends which those banks pay. The investment of this huge volume of recent deposits at rates which will enable the banks to maintain their customary dividends, when account is taken of the strict limitations upon such investments that are imposed by law, has proved a serious problem for the banks, and some lowering of dividend rates seems inevitable. On the other hand, if the restricted opportunities for profit in legal stocks and bonds shall induce the savings banks to lower their rates on real-estate mortgages, the building industry and the hard-pressed holders of mortgages that are falling due will be much better off for the help.

PRIVATE CHARITY and local governments, we have been told time and again by President Hoover, must carry the full burden of relief for the unemployed. In no other way can the initiative and independence of the American people be preserved. It is a matter of record that no other city in the country has made so sincere and generous an attempt to care for its jobless as has Detroit, which spent more than $20,000,000 on public relief in the last twelve months. The Detroit program has been carried forward under the direction of Mayor Frank Murphy despite the limitations put upon it by dwindling tax receipts and a growing deficit. Now, however, Detroit confesses that it has failed; the load has been too heavy. The City Council has already voted, having overridden the mayor's veto, to close the municipal lodging-houses, in which from two to four thousand men have been sheltered every night; and it is seriously considering a proposal to limit the total of family-relief expenditures to $300,000 monthly. Last winter food, clothing, medical attention, and in many cases rent money were provided for more than 40,000 families. The average monthly outlay per family was $40, and this small sum only too often proved inadequate. If the council's plan carries and conditions in Detroit do not improve, the city will have next winter an average of only $7.50 a month to spend on its destitute families. Does Mr. Hoover really believe that the spirit of self-help and self-government can be kept alive on $7.50 a month, to say nothing of the difficulty of keeping a normal American family alive on that inadequate amount?

THAT WE ARE MOVING measurably closer to redemption of our long-neglected promise of independence to the Philippines is indicated by the unusual interest in the question displayed by Congressmen this summer. Indeed, recent developments have led Senator Bingham of Connecticut "to believe that a bill granting independence to the Philippine Islands will pass both houses of Congress during the coming session." And the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance has reported from Washington that President Hoover "may reverse the traditional Republican policy of opposition to Philippine independence." Others among our national legislators have been sufficiently interested to visit the islands. Senator Hawes of Missouri spent several weeks

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there talking frankly, not merely with American residents and official representatives, but also with native business and political leaders. He said he would continue to work for independence, and his statement, according to reports, brought dismay only to the American colony. In addition to Senator Hawes, the islands were visited by Senators Patterson of Missouri, Robinson of Indiana, and Pittman and Oddie of Nevada, and Representatives Yon of Florida, Gibson of Vermont, and Dowell of Iowa, while Secretary of War Hurley, whose office has administrative jurisdiction over the islands, is planning a trip to the Philippines later in the summer. We sincerely hope that Senator Bingham is correct in his prediction of favorable Congressional action, but we cannot hold with him in his hope that the President "will veto any such measure." The United States has all too long and all too shamelessly withheld fulfilment of its pledge to the Filipinos.

THE STRUGGLE between Premier Mussolini and Pope Pius over who shall possess the minds and hearts of the youth of Italy is, for the contestants, a battle to the death. For the outsider, neither Fascist nor Catholic, it presents several interesting phases. The church, for the first time in many decades, is seen to be openly engaged in political controversy. It has come down from its sacrosanct throne and animadverts on capital and labor, on socialism, on birth control, on the several rights and privileges of the temporal and the spiritual powers. It restates, probably with some unwisdom, that the obligations of the true Catholic are unyielding and definable. The oath of allegiance taken to the state must be made with reservations, and "one is not Catholic except in baptism and name if one adopts and pursues a program which contains doctrines and maxims . . . contrary to the rights of the church of Jesus Christ." There will be many for whom such doctrine will weaken the position of the church. Mussolini, on the other hand, may very well fear outspoken criticism from any source. When the king in the proverb marched unclothed and his loyal subjects had faith that he wore royal robes, all was well; but the doubt of a child who watched broke the spell. Loyal Catholics may well rally to the Pope's standard now. And thousands who are not Catholics but who have endured the weight of the Fascist hand may breathe more freely and rejoice that others are ready to question the hitherto undisputed authority of Mussolini's rule.

IT IS GOOD NEWS that the peace caravan dispatched from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean by the Disarmament Campaign Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is meeting with surprising success and enthusiasm in its effort to roll up signatures for the great disarmament petition which is to go first to President Hoover and then to the disarmament conference. At Santa Barbara the mayor greeted the crusaders and signed the petition and so did the mayors of several other cities. At San Francisco the mayor publicly received the crusaders in front of the City Hall, with the city's band enlivening the proceedings. "We are traveling on faith," writes Katherine Devereux Blake, one of the leaders, "but we get bigger collections than those I remember in suffrage days"—which is remarkable, indeed, if one recalls the stringency of the times. We heartily admire the pluck of those who are striving thus to dramatize the coming disarmament conference. It is of the utmost importance to the United States and to the world that a great victory for disarmament be achieved in Geneva. The cutting of the cost of armaments will go far toward reestablishing the trade and prosperity of the world, to say nothing of the moral and spiritual benefits to be obtained. We wish that there might be a hundred such peace caravans under way this summer.

BENJAMIN N. CARDOZO, chief judge of the New York Court of Appeals and therefore the highest judicial officer in the Empire State, is by this time so accustomed to receiving medals and distinctions of every kind that one more or less can hardly thrill him profoundly. None the less, we must be permitted to express our gratification that a Roosevelt medal has now been conferred upon this singularly able and modest jurist, justly described in the award as "a scholar of immeasurable attainments, a lawyer of unbounded legal erudition, the very embodiment of impartiality, fairness, and justice." In an hour when the courts are more and more coming into disrepute, when disbelief in the possibility of a poor man's obtaining justice steadily grows, it is encouraging to look to Justice Cardozo as typifying the best that there is in the legal profession and as giving the assurance that the States as well as the federal government can have the finest kind of bench if only they will eliminate politics and seek men who have the respect and admiration of their professional associates. And while we are on the subject of a June honor, we must also record our satisfaction that the University of Wisconsin has conferred an honorary doctorate of laws upon Harry F. Ward especially because he, as chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, has "valiantly defended those basic rights of free speech, free press, and free association without which neither scientific advance nor social progress is possible."

"COUNTRIES, oceans, and civilizations have been slipping past us so fast in this journey of a little more than a week that things aren't straight in our minds yet." Thus poignantly did the two world fliers, Post and Gatty, describe their eight-day trip. Countries, oceans, and civilizations were left behind them, not only under the rush of their plane but in the minds of men who waited to hear how they would fare and whether or not they would safely land. The days of travel on foot slipped past them, and of patient oxen; of three months to cross the Atlantic; of the laborious, months-long trek from Ohio to Oregon; the infant railroad, puffing its twelve miles an hour, the callow automobile, enduring the derisive shrieks of children as it increased its speed to ten minutes for a mile, the young airplane modestly proceeding half a mile in sixty seconds—all these were forever left behind. Fifteen thousand miles in a little over eight days and a half is the new record. It will be bettered, of course, but it is an arrow that points a new age. It makes the world smaller than our fathers ever dreamed it could be. It does another thing: it destroys certain distinctions. Mr. Post was asked how it felt to fly over Siberia. "Just the same as anywhere else," he answered, "like flying over Oklahoma." When Siberia becomes indistinguishable from Oklahoma, long-cherished boundaries, national differences, the bitter animosities that divide nation from nation seem somehow trivial and outworn.

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The Triumph of the Hoover Plan

THAT the French would fight for face-saving terms was to have been expected; that is in part due to their mental habits, in part to the exigencies of their political situation. It was not in the nature of things as easy for them to swallow innumerable spoken words affirming that France never, never would consent to any alterations of the Young Plan as it was for Mr. Hoover completely to reverse himself within ten days. Yet, thanks to the skill, patience, and firmness with which negotiations were carried on in Washington and by our representatives in Paris, a great victory was achieved. The French have yielded, perhaps as gracefully as possible, and have practically accepted Mr. Hoover's terms as handed to them, with certain slight alterations that do not affect in any way the carrying out of the original Hoover plan. For this we again offer our warmest congratulations to the President. While we are well aware that self-interest played some part in his reaching a decision, it is none the less a praiseworthy achievement and may well mean, if followed up by other equally drastic measures, the rescuing of the world from the economic morass in which it was steadily sinking.

That in the end a satisfactory settlement would be arrived at we have never doubted. France might struggle as it pleased, but it could not afford to be in the position of being the sole Power to block a scheme which has not only been acclaimed by the entire world, but has already been put into effect by Italy, with respect to her own debtors, without waiting for the formal ratification, and has already called forth Chancellor Brüning's voluntary pledge that not one cent of the moneys gained by Germany will be applied to increased armaments. France's hesitancy and quibbling have, however, done that country no good, and it will be fortunate, indeed, if its conduct in this matter is not utilized by other Powers to plan a campaign at once to isolate it at the disarmament conference.

The truth is, we suppose, that France, having suffered less than any other nation from the economic crisis, is less able to understand the dire necessity of others. None the less, French diplomats and cabinet ministers must have known as well as Mr. Hoover that the crisis was at hand in Germany, that the Reichsbank was gravely endangered, that the whole of Central Europe was in imminent danger of financial collapse, with chaos, perhaps even anarchy, the inevitable outcome. When the whole house is falling down, it is no time to split hairs, not even if the dweller in one apartment thinks that his residence is safe and that he may even be able to pick up out of the wreckage some of his neighbor's possessions that he has long coveted. It is only a few months since a foremost British statesman declared unequivocally in private conversation that if Germany went down, England would collapse, too. What is true of England is true of France. Economic chaos, starvation, and misery in Germany would menace the peace and happiness of France to an irresistible degree. Moreover, the latest news from Germany, with its report that the run on the Reichsbank continues, that a gold credit of fifty million dollars in New York has been absorbed and half the credit already placed at its disposal under the Hoover plan, shows that this grave emergency has not yet been passed and makes the French hesitancy and delay even more difficult to understand.

We see little objection to the concessions thus far made to France. As the American statement of July 1 pointed out, the important points are, first, that France has agreed to forego the retention of any payments from Germany for one year, and, second, that the principle of continuity of payment of unconditional annuities is recognized (for face-saving purposes), while complete relief to Germany is afforded. There is certainly no valid objection to the proposal that during the moratorium year the annual contribution of 660,000,000 marks by the German railway companies shall continue to be deposited with the Bank for International Settlements, and that the balance of 612,000,000 marks left of it after service of the 1930 German international loan shall be reloaned at once to the German railways. Naturally the United States could not accept a proposal that 100,000,000 marks of the unconditional payments paid in to the B. I. S. should be made available for loans to Central European countries other than Germany. Mr. Hoover has rightly insisted that the moratorium should be a real moratorium, and not one vitiated by a number of exceptions.

Now that the French have finally swung into line, we would earnestly urge upon President Hoover the immediate calling of Congress in extra session, not later than October 1. We are well aware of his disinclination to have Congress on his hands, lest it legislate on unemployment and other domestic issues. We are aware, too, of the widespread report that Mr. Hoover will call Congress two weeks in advance of its regular meeting in December. That is not, however, early enough. There are grave dangers in allowing more than four months to elapse between a moratorium agreement between the Executive and foreign Powers, and its submission to Congress for approval. While Mr. Hoover has been wise enough to sound out all available Republican and Democratic Congressmen and Senators, the response was not unanimous, and there is a possibility of serious opposition developing prior to the regular reconvening of Congress.

After the first flush of the psychological effect of this move has passed away, and it becomes evident that what has been obtained is only a breathing spell, that the grave situation of Europe cannot be altered merely by a year's delay, but that the numerous other causes of the worst economic crisis in modern times must also be removed, there may be an increasing feeling of doubt. No one can tell what may happen this summer. The time to strike is now while the iron is hot, when Mr. Hoover can surely count upon Congress. Delay until December will cause unrest and anxiety in Europe, which has not forgotten that Congress in its wisdom rejected the Treaty of Versailles after it had been enthusiastically recommended by the war-time President. Let us have the issue settled now, if only because other important settlements and changes will demand attention as soon as this act of the Executive is ratified.

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Death of a Commission

ON midnight of June 30 the Wickersham Commission, sometimes known as the Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, passed almost stealthily out of existence, without ceremony and without even a final meeting. It would not be possible or entirely fair to render at this moment a final verdict upon its achievements. Its various studies on police methods, probation, crime costs, crime causes, crime among the foreign-born, and "the lawlessness of the law" have not yet been made public. Some of these reports may prove to be substantial contributions, and a few of the commission's recommendations in this field may conceivably be acted upon. But any consideration of the commission's record available up to now is bound to be a depressing one.

The Commission on Law Enforcement, it must be remembered, is the most famous of all the President's commissions. Even before he took office Mr. Hoover put forward the appointment of commissions as the master-method of solving and settling the problems of government. It took such problems "out of politics." It took them out of the realm of passion and partisanship and placed them in the hands of experts. It was preeminently the "scientific" method of dealing with them. The record of the Wickersham Commission may be taken as typical of what the method of solution-by-commission may fairly be expected to achieve.

What happened to it? Almost immediately after its appointment it became in the popular eye, and even apparently in its own eye, the commission on prohibition. Its proceedings were then surrounded by a curious sort of peep-show privacy. It was not many months before Chairman Wickersham was giving out public statements and writing letters regarding his personal attitude on prohibition. Finally, after a year and a half of this wouldn't-you-like-to-know-what-we're-going-to-say attitude, the commission's report was published. After a year and a half of "fact-finding," it published no facts on prohibition not already known in their broader aspects by nearly everyone. Far from clarifying anything, the recommendations made the situation more confused than ever. The 800-word summary of the report said one thing, the complete report something rather different, and the statements signed by individual members something quite different. The summary stated, for example, that "the commission is of opinion that there is yet no adequate observance or enforcement," which was hardly an adequate summary of the statement in the complete report that "a majority of the citizens in most of our larger cities" and "at least a very large number of respectable citizens in all communities" were drinking "in quite frank disregard of the declared policy of the national prohibition act," despite the fact that "no other federal law has had such elaborate State and federal enforcing machinery put behind it," and that "after a brief period in the first years of the amendment there has been a steady increase in drinking." The summary asserted that "the commission is opposed to the federal or State governments, as such, going into the liquor business," but carefully refrained from mentioning that several of the commissioners had approved the creation of officially authorized agencies for the distribution of liquor in States which approved such distribution. The summary declared, without qualification, that "the commission is opposed to the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment." It did not state that two of the eleven members of the commission were in favor of outright repeal, and that five others wanted immediate modification. The individual statements of the members showed various degrees of inconsistency with their signatures to the main report. The palm went to Mr. Baker, who signed the report opposing repeal, while stating categorically that he favored repeal.

What did Mr. Hoover do with this report? He vaguely "commended" certain of the minor suggestions "to the attention of the Congress at an appropriate time"—though he did not specify what time would be appropriate. He repudiated, however, the only really important change the commission had been able to agree upon—that altering the present mandatory prohibition amendment into a merely empowering amendment—by asserting that he saw "serious objections" to it. He did not specify what the objections were.

The history of the Wickersham Commission therefore comes down to this: In appointing it, the President called for "an accurate examination of fact and cause" to be followed by "constructive, courageous conclusions." In the report on which the commission spent the most of its time, no facts were found that altered what was generally known. There was virtually a different conclusion from each member of the commission. The summary of the report was not an honest reflection of the opinions of the individual members, and the most important recommendation even of that summary was rejected by the President who had appointed the commission. Congress, of course, did nothing. Let us keep these facts in mind when the next commission is appointed to solve—or evade—the next issue.

Haiti Still a Problem

GROWING impatience on the one side and literal-minded stubbornness on the other threaten, unless common sense is soon brought to bear on the situation, to make a tragedy of the Washington Administration's expressed desire to end the American occupation of Haiti. It was more than a year ago that the Forbes Commission, complying with the instructions of President Hoover to determine "when and how we are to withdraw" from Haiti, made several specific recommendations. It urged that the government be reorganized by substituting parliamentary rule for the dictatorship of President Luis Borno and his extra-legal Council of State, that the general of marines acting as High Commissioner be replaced by a civilian Minister, that the marines be "gradually withdrawn," and that a policy be adopted "providing for an increasingly rapid Haitianization of the services, with the object of having Haitians experienced in every department of the government ready to take over full responsibility at the expiration of the existing treaty." The first two steps of this program, which was approved by Mr. Hoover, have already been taken. Beyond that there has been little progress; marines are still in Haiti and Americans continue to hold most of

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the high government offices. As a result trouble is again brewing.

Storm signals have been noted by several observers, among them Ernest Gruening, editor of the Portland *Evening News,* and Harold Denny, New York *Times* correspondent, who have recently visited the Caribbean republic. They report that the Haitian patriots, meaning the majority of the people who since 1915 have been chafing under the restrictions of the treaty imposed upon them in that year, are extremely impatient to have the occupation ended without further ado. They have always held the treaty to be invalid, and now, in view of the Forbes Commission's recommendations, they assume that even Washington admits the occupation to be illegal, and so they see no good reason for haggling over the terms of the withdrawal. Moreover, the patriots are being egged on by the press, which is constantly demanding immediate withdrawal, and by leading Haitian politicians, most of whom have seats in the national assembly, and all of whom are looking forward with eager anticipation to the fruits of office they will enjoy once the Americans have got out. A few of the more prominent cabinet officers, including President Stenio Vincent, appreciate the necessity for patience and peace during the period of withdrawal, but they too believe the task can be completed in a relatively short time.

On the other hand, the American occupation officials appear to the observers to be obsessed with the desire to abide strictly by the letter of the Forbes Commission program rather than by its very liberal spirit. The commission itself found that "the acts and attitude of the treaty officials gave . . . the impression that they had been based upon the assumption that the occupation would continue indefinitely." Now that these officials know they must give up their jobs and get out they are, in the opinion of the Haitians, quibbling over unessential details. The Americans, to all appearances, are just as eager to hang on to their jobs as the Haitian politicians are to appropriate them. The new American Minister, Dana Munro, who with Pauleus Sannon, Haitian Foreign Secretary, has been negotiating an agreement to govern the Haitianization of the government services, thus finds himself under pressure from two sides.

But in concerning ourselves too much with Haitian political ambitions and with the petty details of the withdrawal, we are apt to overlook the larger problem involved. Now that we have recognized the error of our intervention in the first place, we ought to get out without standing upon formality or ceremony. Perhaps this course would do violence to our notion that the Haitian leaders are not yet so well qualified to rule their country as are the American experts sent down there for that purpose, ignorant as the latter are of the language and psychology of the people, and perhaps an abrupt departure would not be strictly legal or regular as the State Department sees it. But only by such a straightforward and honest course can we begin to right the wrongs we have done the Haitians these last sixteen years. Our present insistence upon precise observance of every detail of the withdrawal program is only filling the Haitians with still more resentment against us. One of their editors, Ernest Chauvet, has already warned us that in the present situation there is an "acute possibility of serious disorder." It would be a pity if such were the result of the visit of our well-intentioned Forbes Commission.

Literature and Affairs

FROM the office of Senator Norris has just come a statement made by Theodore Dreiser to Paul S. Clapp, managing director of the National Electric Light Association. It was Mr. Clapp who, in answer to Senator Norris's strictures on the Power Trust, declared indignantly that no such animal existed. Mr. Dreiser does not believe it, and his reply is well informed and ably written. Nor is this by any means the first time he has taken part in public controversy. Lately, in the case of eight Negro boys sentenced to die for rape in Scottsboro, Alabama, he was an active member of a committee of protest; and he has made one of another committee of writers to hold hearings on cases of alleged brutalities perpetrated on miners by mine guards in western Pennsylvania.

Mr. Dreiser thus is carrying on a tradition much neglected in America of late years, that an artist need not disassociate himself from public affairs, but may, if his temperament permits, hold office, criticize public men, and in general take part in the life about him without injury to his art. John Milton spent his middle years as secretary of foreign tongues to Cromwell's Council of State, and was prolific and passionate in his writings on current affairs; the author of "Tom Jones" as Mr. Justice Fielding dispensed justice for many years from the King's bench; Dean Swift, not over-busy with his duties at St. Patrick's, had before assuming them tasked his spirit and his pen in ardent political advocacy. There are many writers to whom this sort of occupation would be unthinkable. For them the ivory tower in which they can contemplate life without letting it destroy them. If Mr. Dreiser, as one of America's first novelists, can be partisan in the lives of men and women around him, Mr. Robinson Jeffers, one of America's first poets, has built himself a stone tower by the Pacific and retreats to it at the first approach of insistent sociability. These two happen to be honest men, honestly behaving as their own natures compel them to behave. From the character of his writing, so deeply and persistently concerned with every small detail of living, Mr. Dreiser might well be expected to watch with interest what goes on in the world about him. Mr. Jeffers, to whom the world is one vast magnificent metaphor, and the men and women in it whirling shapes bent by fate to fill it, can properly enough let politics and economics take care of themselves while he occupies himself with writing poetry.

This, of course, is very unpopular doctrine with our young "proletarian" writers. For them the current scene is everything, the current injustices of the capitalist system are the only matters with which an honest writer can concern himself. They are not individualists, they will not grant any man the right to be different from his fellows, or to wish to be apart from them. They love Upton Sinclair, not because he has written patiently and interestingly of contemporary America, but because he is on the side of the workingman; they will love Mr. Dreiser for the same reason. In America today there is much to observe, much to champion, much to fight and abhor—for the writer whose taste urges him to take sides as well as to watch. This is an excellent way of writing. One should not, however, make the mistake of thinking it the only way.

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A Man Can Be Free*

I

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

YOU have both written in a friendly spirit. I thank you. You know, as I hope all your brothers in the Soviet Union know, that I am your sincere friend and a defender of the Soviet Union in the West. I have welcomed your young revolution from the moment of its birth in 1917, and from the beginning I have untiringly defended it with my pen against those who have attacked and misrepresented it. Just a few days ago I mercilessly tore the hypocritical mask from the face of the "Pan-Europeans." I believe in the Soviet Union and will continue to support it to my last breath. Therefore there is every reason for peace between us, and we should rejoice in this.

But you have found it necessary to become alarmed and perturbed because I consider myself an individualist, and because I harbor a "love for humanity." My dear friends, accept me as I am. Whether I am mistaken or not, at least I am sincere and honest. And in my honesty lies my strength. Yes, I believe in humanity. And this individualist, this "believer in humanity" is fighting your battle. Instead of saying, "No, this cannot be!" would it not be wiser to rejoice because the Soviet Union has on its side the most ardent champions of individualism and humanity?

You say, my dear Selvinsky, that individual freedom does not exist and that an "intellectual" has never been free and never can be free. My whole life is an example of the contrary. I have lived as a free man. Amidst my enemies, as amidst everything I have loved, through all that I have fought for, through all that I have been and stood for, I have always remained free. And for this freedom I have paid a high price, the price of living in the absolute seclusion of my own thoughts, surrounded by an atmosphere of violent hatred. I shall not dwell on the hardships this condition has brought upon me, hardships made particularly unendurable by my sensitiveness. For I have never been tempted to make a profession of heartlessness. I have loved and wanted to be loved in return. But I have sacrificed everything—happiness, ambition, and material well-being—in order to remain free. And I have succeeded in remaining free—free and alone during all these years of my life. I have stood alone among the herd of Western intellectuals, whose proud dogmas and egotistical prejudices I have never been able to share, alone in my native country, with its nationalism, against which I have fought; I stood alone in 1914, when I unmasked all that was behind the fratricidal war. And I have stood still more completely alone since the signing of the peace treaty, this false peace of robbers, which I have unceasingly attacked and denounced. And alone, with a very small group of persons who think as I do, I stand in the West for the defense of the Soviet Union. So do not say that one cannot be free. One is free when one has enough courage to sacrifice everything for the freedom of one's soul.

And now we come to love for humanity, which, in your opinion, Feodor Gladkov, it is ridiculous even to mention, in these days of brutal and savage upheaval. In my opinion this is precisely the moment to speak of it. Love for humanity has become a standard around which we should rally, at this time of conflict when there is danger of its being trampled under foot. I am doing what I can to rescue it from destruction by people who are savagely fighting one another. You can trample upon me if you wish. . . . Surely when it comes to proclaiming the hypocrisy of "lovers of humanity" and of "peace," we are at one. And who has struggled more tirelessly and attacked this hypocrisy more severely than I, the author of "Liluli"? But hypocrites we shall find at all times and everywhere, and in every camp. Those are the jackals that follow the lions in order to eat their leavings, and put an end to them if they should happen to become ill or wounded. Do not confuse them with the lions. And do not confuse noble individualism, that believes it "better to die than to betray your convictions," with low egotism, that thinks of nothing but how to fill its stomach and satisfy its ambitions and interests. Do not confuse the false love for humanity of the Tartuffes who grow fat on the peace treaty and the international bureau of disarmament with the ardent flame of love and sacrifice that burns in the name of freedom, and that seeks to elevate and enlighten the oppressed and exploited masses of humanity—this same flame that lives within you.

For in your country, my friends of the Soviet Union, consciousness and appreciation of life are free. And you yourselves, not realizing this, are true individualists, true apostles and ardent servants of humanity. Can you not realize that? I am bringing to you, into the camp of workers who have become masters of their own destiny, the sacred banner of freedom of spirit and love for humanity. Do not be so blind as to reject it. Be proud of it! Rejoice that we are fighting in your ranks. Do you remember in Shakespeare's amazing work, "Antony and Cleopatra," the eve of the great battle that was to decide the destiny of the world, and that was to give the power into the hands of Octavius? Mysterious music is heard on the night air; the sound of flutes floats over Antony's camp, and singing from an invisible parade is heard, gradually fading away and dying out. That is the march of Dionysus, and it is Antony's gods who are abandoning him. They are abandoning the one who is doomed to die. . . . The gods of the old world, individualism and humanity, are fleeing from the camp of your enemies, and they are coming to your camp. Accept them. And accept the hand of one who leads them. This hand is experienced in the battles of a whole lifetime. And this hand is firm. And it presses your hand.

II

By A. V. LUNACHARSKY

I must ask your forgiveness, my friends Selvinsky and Gladkov. For in this controversy I am nearer to the point of view of Romain Rolland than to yours. And I consider myself none the less Marxian for that.

* A letter from Romain Rolland to Feodor Gladkov and Ilya Selvinsky, published in the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* of Moscow and translated from the Russian by Lubov Meiller and Harold Ballou, together with a letter by A. V. Lunacharsky simultaneously published in the same review and also translated by Miss Meiller and Mr. Ballou.—EDITOR THE NATION.

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One might easily understand from Romain Rolland's letter that you have accused him of being an individualist and a "servant of humanity," but that in reality there exists no such thing as individual freedom, nor any such thing as a love for humanity. One is forced to conclude from Rolland's letter that you think there are only social restrictions, which are borne by the classes. This accusation sounds orthodox, but you will pardon my saying that it is somewhat superficial. In reality, if we consider a true proletarian, it is evident that the freedom of his activities and of his class should naturally coincide.

What is individual freedom? In this case our point of view is Hegelian, invariably resting on a dialectical-materialistic foundation. A free man is a person whose behavior coincides with the very essence of his being. If my freedom did not correspond with my character, it would be a strange situation indeed! Free actions must correspond with one's convictions and feelings. (A proletarian's freedom, by the way, may be hindered through his backwardness and his lack of education. Therefore when a proletarian becomes enlightened through education, he discovers and broadens his true self. His personality becomes freer, at the same time still belonging to his class. The party discipline, which he accepts, is as the very air which he breathes. The more disciplined a member of the party, the freer he is.)

Now let us consider the individuality of the intelligentsia. This is not only a merely bourgeois individuality, but also an individuality that spends itself in perfecting its own being. . . . Originality, for a writer, lawyer, doctor, painter, engineer, or other intellectual is the greatest gift that he can possess. . . . And in precisely this lies his talent. There also exists among the intellectuals a competition in originality. In the process of development of this competition the intellectual suffers purely personal complications. . . . An intellectual thinks that his "sensitiveness" is a sign of highly developed individuality. But this is just as false as to consider as a quality the noises made by an expensive automobile while in motion. . . .

There are many threads that bind an intellectual, especially a European intellectual, to his bourgeois environment. . . . How can such an intellectual (and in Europe 99 per cent are of this type) tear himself away from such a situation and approach the proletarian? I can assure you that he can do it only through the development of the greatest individual freedom. . . .

Let us suppose that the intellectual does not at once find the communistic road. This will still be his first honest refusal to serve the bourgeois idols—to oppose them through his desire to be truthful to himself. This alone will bring our "Doctor Stockman" into conflict with the society in which he lives. It may take him some time to discover that there exists a society that will support him in his convictions, a society in which he will have a chance to develop, namely, the revolutionary proletariat. But in the beginning he will suffer from a deep feeling of loneliness. He will come to the conclusion that outside of this society there are many other spheres, some good and some bad, in which he can spend himself, but the essential thing is that at last he is developing his true individuality. This culmination, which calls for sacrifice, brings him to the summit of his self-esteem. . . .

So how can Romain Rolland help being proud of such individualism? How can he refrain from speaking of freedom as of something truly noble? Now tell me, friends Gladkov and Selvinsky: if Romain Rolland did not believe in individual freedom, would he not be forced to believe the alternative, that a man can only express the interests of his class and no more? In this case he would be forced to remain, according to Pereversev, within the frame of his class, forever a bourgeois. And Romain Rolland does not want that.

Lenin has said that everyone has his own way of arriving at communism. Thus the road of an intellectual leads through highly moral social individualism and scientific freedom of thought. And this requires a strong character.

It is a road to freedom through freedom, the highest type one can attain. This freedom is no longer individualistic, because it harmoniously coincides with the requirements of the class. Romain Rolland, with a somewhat ironical smile, tells Gladkov and Selvinsky that Communists, not themselves realizing it, are "true individualists." This is not true, my friend. We Communists are great individualists, fully aware of it. And you, our friend, you fully understand our individualism. . . . Individualism grows to a colossal stature when it works hand in hand with the great social movement of its time. . . .

We are well aware that our struggle produces tremendous individualities. Surely we would laugh to scorn any person who tried to maintain that Marx, Lenin, or Stalin were not very outstanding individualities. We also know that the socialistic order will create varied and strong personalities, although there will be no conflict or competition between them over a career, which some bourgeois consider a necessary condition for individualism.

The same misunderstanding arises when we come to consider love for humanity. From Romain Rolland's letter it is evident that he despises scoundrels and fools who want to hide the class struggle from the new humanity. No, there does not exist at the present time an undivided humanity. There is a gigantic class struggle between two consciously hostile camps, the camp of the leaders of the bourgeoisie and their lackeys, and the camp of the proletariat and their followers. Lenin pointed out more than once that with the natural development of sharper class conflicts there will gather around the banner of communism hundreds of millions of men, and around the flag of capitalism there will remain a small group of exploiters and their servants. In this respect we speak in the name of humanity. We only deny the exploiters the right to be considered as a part of humanity, for they are its enemies. And they must be liquidated as a class. Socialism will lead to the annihilation of classes, and thus to the complete realization of humanity.

We do not have to build up contradictions between such people as Romain Rolland and ourselves. . . . My dear friend, we love your personality which is so distinctly different from that of the intellectuals you have described in "Liluli." We welcome your freedom, which permitted you to protest proudly against the idols of European public opinion. We know that you want to serve humanity. We know that you are beginning to absorb completely the truth, that one can serve humanity only by giving oneself wholly to the proletariat through its revolutionary, communistic vanguard.

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Graustark Gets Down to Figures

By JOHN GUNTHER

JUST a year ago this week King Carol flew back to Rumania an exiled prince, dishonored, outlawed, scandal-pelted by a brace of continents. He stepped by night from a hard-flying airplane to assume a throne held previously by both his father and his son. Once he was pretty close to being a fugitive. Now he is pretty close to personal responsibility for 17,000,000 Rumanians. This sounds romantic, but today Carol is facing critical realities. The details of his coup outdid Hollywood—the decoy whereby the Rumanian spies were foiled, the conspirator in false mustachios who impersonated Carol in a Paris hotel, the code telegrams signed "Sophie," the night flight across the Carpathians. Very pretty it all was! Today Carol holds his head over problems of grain export, trade balances, budget deficits. Graustark is getting down to figures.

Carol is not a dictator—yet. The plain truth of the matter is that he has no need to be. His personal government serves the same purpose, with less ostentation and risk; his cabinet of three cronies and a half-dozen non-party specialists gives him a properly constitutional executive committee; and his parliament, more or less hand-picked by the elections of June 1-4, provides a convenient and outwardly irreproachable façade. These are bad days for unconstitutional kings, and Carol knows what happened to Alfonso. Moreover, his brother-in-law, Alexander, across the border in Jugoslavia, has not had an easy time.

Just the same, Carol intends holding as close to actual as well as titular power as possible. This was the purpose of the elections, which were a pretty neat job, even for Rumania. It is, of course, a historical fact that no government in Rumania has ever lost an election. Governments go out not by vote of parliament but by royal decree, and the new government is formed specifically with the intention of holding elections and thus confirming itself in power. But the new government of Professor Jorga chosen by King Carol had only one seat in parliament, that of Professor Jorga himself. So a party of exactly one had to be transformed into one big enough to swing a chamber of 387. It was done by an electoral pact with the Liberals—the party which hounded Carol from the country. Strange bedfellows! But cooperation with the Liberals was the price that Carol was willing to pay to avoid an *overt* dictatorship.

The Carol-Jorga-Liberal bloc polled 1,389,894 votes out of 2,100,000, and got 289 seats in the chamber. The National Peasant opposition, which polled 2,200,000 votes in 1928, dropped to 438,761, and was reduced in parliament from 324 seats to 30. Obviously such a terrific swing of the pendulum shows that once again in Rumania the elections were "made."

The turnover was effected in perfectly orthodox Balkan fashion. About 10,000 opposition votes were "lost," and are still missing. In some districts voters were warded from the polls by sudden quarantines, to protect them from mysteriously arising "epidemics." Fraud and intimidation kept thousands from the polls. In Bucharest only 26 per cent of the electorate voted, and in the country as a whole only 50 per cent. Moreover, by the terms of a convenient electoral law which may surprise Westerners, but which is common in the Balkans, the government on getting 40 per cent of the total poll takes a 30 per cent bonus of extra seats in the chamber. So "democracy" protects itself.

Even so, the victory of Carol's personal government was not so sweeping as it might have been. The Jorga group has, it is true, 289 seats out of 387; but 80 of the 289 are promised to the Liberals, and 18 to minority parties. If these should secede from the government bloc the majority would be precariously reduced. The Liberal leader, a hard-boiled politician named Duca, may make trouble. But Carol is so certain to put the screws on recalcitrant politicians that it is unlikely. Everyone remembers what happened to poor M. Titulescu, Carol's minister in London. Titulescu worked night and day for thirteen days before the present crisis to form a government, and twice he very nearly succeeded. Carol put him to the all but insuperably difficult task, first, of getting the nauseous welter of minor politicians to work together, and, second, of effecting a reconciliation between the Liberals and their bitter enemies, the National Peasants. Titulescu sweated, but he did it. But when he finally presented his cabinet the king brusquely refused to accept it, on the ground that it did not include his personal friend Dr. Argetoianu. Then through Professor Jorga a cabinet was formed almost within an hour. Titulescu is described as much hurt still at the truly horrible way he was let down.

Carol aside, the three men who run Rumania under the present regime form an amusingly variegated trinity. Professor Jorga was professor of universal history at the University of Bucharest at the age of twenty-two. He sits in a little house on a Bucharest boulevard, roars orders to secretaries through a glistening black beard, has the temper of a Tartar, has written 357 different books and pamphlets, and when I saw him was answering all complaints and petitions from all parts of the country personally. He is also completely honest. This is a handicap to a Rumanian politician.

Dr. Constantine Argetoianu is a doctor of medicine, a successful banker, a politician who has led several different parties, and an advocate of dictatorship. He is both Minister of Finance and Minister of the Interior, and it was he who managed the elections. The third man, Mihai Manoilescu, is a typical Balkan character—an economist who is also an *agent provocateur,* an authority on public finance who had enough knack for political conspiracy, to say nothing of aviation, to organize and engineer the plot that brought Carol home. Once he was arrested by the Bratianus for running messages to Carol in exile. He is Minister of Trade and Commerce, and the closest man to the king in Rumania.

The National Peasants, isolated in opposition under their Jesuit-trained leader Dr. Julius Maniu, are blistering sore at the way they have been out-maneuvered—and, at the moment, are absolutely impotent. All they can make is

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a lot of noise. They will. Their prestige in the country has dwindled greatly, though not of course so greatly as the elections indicate. They made promises they found it impossible to fulfil; the two groups within the party, the Transylvanians and the Czaranists, began to squabble; after thirty months of office the people were ready for a change. Moreover, Carol and Maniu quarreled. It was Maniu's government which made Carol king, and kings do not like to be too much indebted to their own subjects. Carol was bored by being grateful to Maniu. Again, Maniu fought with Carol over the position of Helen, the unhappy woman who is daughter, sister, mother, and ex-wife of kings, but not a queen.

One should note briefly some of the positive achievements of Maniu and his party in their term of office. First and most important of all, they ended the vicious Bratianu tyranny. They took office saddled with a deficit of 18,000,000,000 lei ($1 equals 166 lei) and got a foreign loan just the same. They tried to reorganize the railroads; they sought to decentralize the administration; they promoted essential government economies. The Finance Minister, Dr. Madgearu, issued a series of decrees which swept through the rotten fabric of Rumanian finance like wind from the pines. The currency was stabilized; income-tax defaulters were corraled; and a law mercifully reduced the interest rate to 14 per cent. *Fourteen,* you say? Yes, because in Rumania rates of 35 per cent or even 50 per cent are common.

There have been rumors lately that Carol intends to marry Mme Lupescu, his famous red-haired friend. This is highly dubious. Carol once gave up his country for this woman, it was written recently, but now it appears he is giving up the woman for the country. The violent and fantastic confusions of his personal life seem quieting down. Just the same, there has been no reconciliation with Helen, his divorced wife, and none is likely. Helen will doubtless leave the country soon. With Carol will stay young Michael, the only personage in history who has been king of a country once, and who will presumably be king of the same country again. Carol and his mother, Marie, get along none too well, and her visits to Bucharest are becoming increasingly infrequent.

Rumania is 80 per cent agricultural. In Bucharest kings come and kings go; scandals flourish and administrations collapse; politicians scamper, cluster, and depart; and the problem of 13,600,000 peasants remains. A land reform which did almost as much evil as good gave 85 per cent of the land to small peasant owners. They had little machinery and little capital, and usurious money-lenders sucked out of them the highest interest rates in Europe. This incidentally accounts for much of the anti-Semitism in Rumania, the money-lenders being mostly Jews. Year after year the peasants mortgaged their holdings, until at present the agricultural debt is colossal. It has been calculated at ninety billion lei, a sum three times the total national budget.

On this land grain grows. It is grain which gives life to the land. And it is this same grain rotting in elevators which may give death to it. The world agrarian crisis has hit Rumania especially hard; as prices fell, taxes soared, and cheap Russian wheat hit the Black Sea markets. The country produces, but it cannot sell. The surplus this year is 250,000 metric tons of wheat, 400,000 of barley, 500,000 of corn. The total surplus, including left-over grain from the last three harvests, runs close to 2,000,000 metric tons. And Rumania all but smothers under it.

Here enters a notable example of how economic decency may be sacrificed to cutthroat politics. Rumania, like Jugoslavia, is highly tempted by the projected Austro-German customs union. Politically both countries are bound to France, but economically their magnet is Germany, because Germany alone can buy their glut of grain. One of the chief results of the customs union has been to throw into sharp light this cleavage in the Balkans between French political and German economic policy. Czecho-Slovakia is the ally of Rumania and Jugoslavia within the Little Entente, but Czecho-Slovakia cannot buy enough Rumanian or Jugoslav grain to make good business. Germany can. Bucharest and Belgrade get little from Prague but the promises of eventual bayonets.

So in the first week of May a German delegation set out for Bucharest to sign a commercial treaty. The Germans were prepared to offer 50 per cent preference on Rumanian wheat. The treaty would have absorbed a large part of the Rumanian surplus and saved the country from acute agrarian depression and financial stringency. What happened? During the same week the Little Entente conference was holding its annual meeting. Pressure from the French and Czechs persuaded the Rumanians that a German delegation in Bucharest at the same time would be improper—very! The French have nothing to offer directly for Rumanian grain. (Hence the elaborate efforts of France to promote an *international* system of agrarian credits for Eastern Europe.) Nor have the Czechs. The Germans have. But so strong was the political suction exerted by M. Benes, the Czech Foreign Minister, that the German delegation, actually en route to Bucharest, was stopped and turned back at the frontier. As diplomacy, it was rude; as economics, grotesque.

Rumania is one of the richest countries on earth. It sprouts timber, oil, corn, wheat, in abundant profusion. Rumania is also one of the poorest countries on earth. Every year it has to borrow to finance its own harvest. The budget deficit is upwards of ten billion lei. Almost one-third of the budget goes, it is true, to the army, but this is the normal figure for Balkan countries. The recent French loan was a lifesaver, but Rumania paid for it through the nose. Only 78 per cent of the nominal $52,000,000 issue was received, and the interest rate worked out to 11½ per cent. Usury in the end, it seems, gets the usurer.

But as to the revenue, where does the money go? The peasant gets 2.8 lei for a kilogram of corn (a lei is three-fifths of an American cent, remember), 3.4 lei for a kilogram of wheat. A day's work in the fields brings him 40 lei—25 cents. But a single kilogram of sugar costs him 40 lei. Where does the money go? Why is grain so cheap, and bread so dear? In waste and inefficiency, to be sure; and also in dishonesty. Rumania, latently one of the most productive countries in Europe, is smothered with a tradition of *backshesh,* befouled by grafters, and greasy with corruption. Even the National Peasant party has its smears.

However, the situation is no worse than it was last year. And it may get better. There are great hopes of Carol and his henchmen, if they stick to their word to clean house and remember that Rumania is not the inevitable

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Graustark-Zenda of Europe, but a country needing common sense more than pretty uniforms. After all, it is great credit to Carol that he returned. Ciro's and Longchamps were probably ever so much more fun. He has announced that hereafter he will attend all cabinet meetings himself, and he may take other steps bringing him to the edge of formal dictatorship. In any case, he is running the country, and the country is his personal responsibility. Its tradition of opera bouffe hampers him. And he is making it the great compliment of treating it quite seriously.

President Hoover's Record

IV. The President and Unemployment*

By ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

THE Administration of Herbert Hoover began on March 4, 1929, with his inspiring declaration that "the larger purpose of our economic thought should be to establish more firmly stability and security of business and employment, and thereby remove poverty still further from our borders." Although he acquiesced in the laissez faire philosophy of his immediate predecessors in office by voicing a hope that this purpose would be attained largely through the spontaneous cooperation of individuals, President Hoover added the significant pledge that his Administration would "assist and encourage these movements of collective self-help by itself cooperating with them."

For eighteen months unemployment has been spreading poverty and acute suffering through industrial and agricultural areas alike. No one yet knows when the present economic disaster will be brought to an end. The illusory prosperity and feverish optimism which marked preceding years have given way to fearful economic insecurity and to widespread despair. These eighteen months have revealed the hypocrisy of the President's pledge of cooperation toward the attainment of economic security. The Administration's efforts to attain economic security have consisted of attempts to minimize the seriousness of the depression, of bold assurances that steps which would restore prosperity were about to be taken, and of a woefully unsuccessful program to stimulate private or local agencies to undertake tasks which the Administration was determined to shirk.

The utter inadequacy of the President's plan to muddle through the depression was increasingly evident as time went on. Instead of adopting constructive measures to meet the issues confronting us, the President in his Valley Forge speech of May 30 last abandoned all pretense of economic leadership. He counseled his fellow-citizens to await with resignation and individual fortitude the day when good fortune might again bring better economic conditions. Abandoning all thought of controlling the complexities of modern economic society, he urged that we "pin our faith upon the inventiveness, the resourcefulness, the initiative of every one of us."

President Hoover entered office with a widely accepted reputation as an economic expert. For years he had indicated his interest in preventing and mitigating unemployment. After appointment by President Harding in 1921 to the chairmanship of the Conference on Unemployment, Mr. Hoover said: "There is no economic failure so terrible in its import as that of a country possessing a surplus of every necessity of life, in which numbers, willing and anxious to work, are deprived of these necessities. It simply cannot be if our moral and economic system is to survive."

Pledges to bring about security of employment and to "abolish poverty" marked the campaign of 1928. The election of Herbert Hoover, the country was assured, would mean the adoption of constructive and aggressive measures to cope with the problem of unemployment. Three months after the inauguration these pledges were recalled to the President's mind by the head of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, who suggested that a national conference be called to consider the unemployment problem. The President replied that he "hoped that we will be able to take it up when some of the momentarily pressing problems of the Administration are out of the way." These "momentarily pressing problems" continued to dominate the President's attention down to the day on which a stock-market crash warned even the unwary that the nation's economic structure had been undermined.

President Hoover's first recognition of the situation was a reassuring statement, on October 25, 1929, that the country was still "on a sound and prosperous basis." Events soon exploded this theory, and on November 15 the President temporarily avowed a sounder view by saying that "words are not of any great importance in times of economic disturbance; it is action that counts."

Action was to proceed along five fronts. The first involved the maintenance of credit stability and of ample supplies of capital through the Federal Reserve system, a task which the long-established banking organization readily accomplished, especially since it soon became evident that the country had an over-supply rather than a shortage of capital. Other points in the program, including the revival of construction activities, the stimulation of exports, and assistance to agriculture, were defeated by more permanent Administration policies which ran in a contrary direction. The fifth point, a reduction of income taxes to reassure business, was jammed through Congress only to demonstrate the hollowness of the Administration's glib description of the depression as merely psychological.

By way of doing something more specific, the President on the same day announced that he called a series of conferences with industrial, financial, and labor leaders, not so much to meet as to "head off an emergency." The eminent gentlemen who visited the White House seemed to agree with the President that no attempt should be made to reduce wages, and pledged increased capital expenditures to maintain employment.

* The fourth of a series of articles on President Hoover's Record. The fifth, on President Hoover's Appointments, by Charles A. Beard, will appear in our next issue.—EDITOR THE NATION.

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An increasing wave of unemployment soon followed, and the President again declared that it was slight in volume and that it would soon be over. On March 8, 1930, he issued his justly famous statement:

> All the evidences indicate that the worst effects of the crash upon employment will have been passed within the next sixty days, with the amelioration of seasonal unemployment, the gaining strength of other forces, and the continued cooperation of the many agencies actively cooperating with the government to restore business and to relieve distress.

On June 4, 1930, the President was waited on by a delegation of bishops, bank presidents, and manufacturers, described by Mr. Amos Pinchot in *The Nation* of January 14, 1931. The President assured the delegation that they must be misinformed concerning the seriousness of the unemployment situation. In Mr. Pinchot's words:

> With calm confidence he spoke of the results that were being gained through the conference he had called of great business leaders and of their fine response to his appeal not to curtail the volume of their activities. He showed us, in authoritative style, that every agency of both the federal and State governments was working at top capacity to relieve the situation. "Gentlemen," he said, "you have come six weeks too late."

Ironically enough, it was at this time that the President reached his decision to sign the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill, which contributed greatly to the almost complete ruin of our export trade.

Demands that the Administration adopt a constructive program became more and more insistent as the fall of 1930 came on. Optimistic statements and announcements of small increases in the volume of federal public works failed to conceal the growth of unemployment, and the protracted drought further enlarged the area of disorganization.

Admission that the unemployment problem had not been met came on October 17, 1930, when President Hoover announced a new series of conferences to draw up more effective plans, on the ground that "as a nation we must prevent hunger and cold to those of our people who are in honest difficulties." The immediate result was the creation of the President's Emergency Committee on Employment, with Colonel Arthur Woods as its chairman. The Woods committee collected information for the President's guidance and made suggestions to private employers and to States and municipalities of ways in which they might alleviate unemployment. The major public-works expansion program recommended to the President by the Woods committee, which would have thrown the powerful resources of the federal government into the breach and substantially reduced unemployment, never saw the light of day because of the President's opposition to legislative action and his blind faith that "the spirit of voluntary service" would be strong enough to cope with the problem "in full measure of the need."

Throughout the following session of Congress, from December, 1930, until March, 1931, the President successfully prevented enactment of more adequate measures to relieve unemployment. Federal assistance to meet the relief of actual distress was blocked through the subserviency of the leaders of a bi-partisan majority in the Senate to the influence of large income-taxpayers, and through the responsiveness of a majority in the House of Representatives to the pressure of the Administration. Instead of an emergency public-works program upon a scale sufficiently great to reduce substantially the volume of unemployment, the Administration's emergency public-works program was limited in the main to an appropriation of $116,000,000, most of which will be available only until September 1.

In harmony with the Administration's general attitude toward unemployment, the session ended with the President's pocket veto, based upon untenable grounds, of the Wagner employment-exchange bill, which almost alone among the measures passed by the Seventy-first Congress might have made some permanent contribution toward the alleviation of the evils of unemployment. The virtual disintegration of the Woods committee, whose members had accepted appointment in the belief that their expert knowledge would receive at least courteous attention from the President, followed within a few weeks. Although the chairman of the committee refused to comment upon his departure from Washington, one of his admirers, Edward A. Filene, remarked that "Colonel Woods is a man of action who refuses to follow a road which leads windingly or not at all to the goal."

A review of the Hoover Administration's unemployment policy demonstrates that the President has lacked either the understanding or the courage to press toward the goal of alleviating the distress of the unemployed and of reducing the number out of work. Timidity and disingenuousness have marked the course of the Administration at a time when heroic courage and bold frankness were necessary. Vigor and firm leadership have been displayed by the President at times, but only to resist proposals which would have mitigated suffering but which necessarily involved an additional levy upon wealthy income-taxpayers.

No informed person has charged the President with full responsibility for the disaster which overtook the United States in 1929. It was produced by factors which had long been working, although President Hoover, like his predecessors, lacked the vision or the will to control those forces. No one has maintained that the federal government alone could solve all the economic problems which now confront the nation. The failure of President Hoover during his Administration is revealed, however, by his attitude toward the measures which would have at least partially ameliorated the unemployment crisis, and which had been under discussion since the unemployment conference over which he presided in 1921. Some of these proposals had again been recommended only a few days before President Hoover's inauguration by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, which under the chairmanship of Senator Couzens had carried on a thorough study of unemployment.

Instead of frankly informing the country concerning the actual state of affairs, the President repeatedly gave out misleading statements. He clung vehemently to his assertions that the depression would soon be over, and that the number of unemployed was smaller than informed observers had been led to believe.

His Cabinet members for months continued to place the number out of work at 2,000,000, even after official figures had shown the total to be far greater. Finally the Woods committee, in order to obtain a sounder basis for its own guidance, induced the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to make an independent survey in January, 1931, which resulted in an estimate placing the number out of work at more than 5,000,000. Characteristically the Administra-

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tion withheld this information until it had been demanded by a resolution of the Senate. A second and more detailed survey, conducted by the Bureau of the Census early in 1931, showed 6,050,000 persons unemployed. It too was withheld by the Administration, this time until after the adjournment of Congress had made it impossible to pass relief appropriations. Strange light is cast upon the Administration's good faith in this connection by Secretary of Commerce Lamont's announcement in March, 1931, that in accordance with a change of Administration policy the public would henceforth be given "all the facts." For more than a year, in other words, the facts had been suppressed.

Despite this assurance, unwarranted optimism continues to emanate from the White House. Late in May, 1931, the President informed the country that he and his Cabinet had found "many factors they considered favorable." A week later Fred C. Croxton, vice-chairman of the Woods committee, felt it necessary to issue a warning that there must be no let-up in relief activities and that almost certainly millions of unemployed would need assistance next winter.

For a hundred years the federal government has granted financial aid to communities temporarily unable to cope with relief problems created by disaster. In spite of his inaugural declaration in favor of cooperation with "movements of self-help," the President devoted much of his energy during the past winter to the defeat of proposals to cooperate with local communities by supplementing out of federal revenues their relief funds, which were rapidly being exhausted. To defend his position, the President drew an arbitrary distinction between "natural" disasters and economic disasters, although the suffering created by the present economic disruption probably far exceeds the burdens imposed by all the "natural" disasters of the last century. He insisted that relief for the unemployed must be locally and privately financed, although official figures finally disclosed that during 1930, 72 per cent of the meager assistance given the unemployed was contributed by local governments and was therefore out of local taxes. The net result of this policy was to throw the burden upon direct, local taxpayers and to relieve the big income-taxpayers of their fair share of the relief levy.

Expansion of public works to afford temporary employment in times of depression had been favorably discussed for more than ten years. Appropriations large enough to initiate an effective emergency program were urged by President Hoover's own advisers. He insisted upon a meager appropriation of $116,000,000. To satisfy the demand for a larger program of public works, he has sponsored misleading statements which lumped expenditures for the purchase of land with expenditures for actual construction, which failed to distinguish between the volume of work normally undertaken prior to the depression and the amount now under way, which obscured the amount of employment actually afforded, and which combined federal and State outlays.

Senator Wagner's bill setting up a permanent organization to regulate federal public works in accordance with business conditions was enacted only after long delay on the part of Administration leaders, and a director to guide its operations is yet to be appointed. Creation of an organization for effective cooperation between federal and State employment offices was proposed in a bill passed by Congress only to be pocket-vetoed, after the adjournment, on specious grounds. Instead, the President set up a system of federal employment directors who have already begun to antagonize and disrupt existing State employment offices. Measures to encourage the establishment of employment reserves or to create a national system of employment insurance were ignored by the Administration, and when the Senate nevertheless authorized a special committee to consider this problem during the present adjournment, Senator Wagner, who had sponsored the creation of the committee, was deposed from the chairmanship by Administration influence.

Other long-range measures—to abolish child labor, to revise the Smoot-Hawley tariff in order to stimulate export trade, to increase federal income and inheritance taxes to provide funds for an expansion of the government's construction program and to enable it to relieve suffering, and to bring about intelligent planning of our economic life in order to prevent a repetition of the situation into which we drifted—have met with Presidential indifference or hostility.

The third winter of unemployment is approaching. Responsibility for the failure of the federal government to provide a program for the relief of distress among millions of our people rests squarely upon President Hoover. The bankruptcy of his leadership in the worst economic crisis in our history reveals the tragic failure of rugged individualism and places the major cost of deflation upon those least able to bear it—the unemployed.

Copyright and Common Sense II*

By THORVALD SOLBERG

THE hearings on copyright legislation before the Committees on Patents of the Senate and the House have produced convincing testimony that amendments to the copyright law are necessary. First consideration should be given to the entry of the United States into the International Copyright Union. This must be accomplished by acceptance of the Berne Convention. There are three texts—the original of 1886, and revisions, Berlin, 1908; Rome, 1928. The copyright bills proposed adherence to the Berlin revision. But the Rome Convention provides (Article 27) that it is to replace "the Convention of Berne of September 9, 1886, and the acts by which it has been successively revised." It is declared in Article 28 that ratifications of the Rome Convention shall be deposited not later than July 1, 1931, and that it will go into effect one month after that date. *If before that date* six countries shall have ratified it, it shall then go into effect as between those countries one month after the deposit of the sixth ratification. There has been unexpected delay in ratifying; hence this provision is now of no effect. New countries, according to Article 28, may enter the union by adhesion either to the Convention of 1908 or to the Convention of 1928 *up to August 1, 1931.* After that date they can adhere only to the latter convention. It is obvious, therefore, that the proposal to go before the next Congress must be acceptance of the convention signed at Rome on June 2, 1928.

Legislation is required to bring our copyright laws into

* The first article on this subject, dealing with the period of copyright protection, appeared in our issue of June 24.—EDITOR THE NATION.

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full accord with the articles of that convention. Copyright must be extended to works of architecture, choreographic works, and pantomimes. Article 11 *bis* declares that "the authors of literary and artistic works enjoy the exclusive right to authorize the communication of their works to the public by radio diffusion [broadcasting]," and that the legislatures of the several countries of the union are to regulate the conditions for the exercise of that right. There must also be legislation to carry out the provisions of another new article (6 *bis*) which grants to the writer the right to claim the authorship of his work and "to object to every deformation, mutilation, or other modification of it which might be prejudicial to his honor or to his reputation." For our present common-law or equity protection of an author's unpublished manuscript must be substituted automatic, statutory copyright from the date of the creation of the author's work. The convention declares (Article 4) that the enjoyment and the exercise of the rights granted shall not be subject to any formality. Authors who are nationals of countries within the union must therefore be released from obligatory deposit and registration of copies and the insertion of a copyright notice. The copyright bills have retained obligatory deposit by American publishers of any work in book form "for the use of the Library of Congress"; but otherwise deposit, registration, and notice are made permissive.

A further necessity is the abrogation of the obligatory manufacture in the United States of the foreign author's work. This requirement has prevented the entry of the United States into the Copyright Union since the Act of March 3, 1891, went into force, compelling authors to have their books "printed from type set within the limits of the United States" in order to obtain copyright. The obvious purpose of the provision is to insure profit for the reprinter of the foreign book. It is not certain that it has been of much benefit even for that result. Of the books produced in Great Britain it is estimated that 85 per cent have not been reprinted and published in the United States. Their authors have had to forego obtaining copyright here because the cost of the compulsory second printing of the book at the time of its first publication could not be met. If, however, copyright protection is now assured to British authors from the time of the creation of their books, then, in the natural course of business, a considerable percentage of such books may be voluntarily reprinted in the United States. In the copyright bills, while the foreign author's work is exempt, obligatory manufacture in the United States has been extended to everything produced by an American author "in book, pamphlet, map, or sheet form"—practically every article subject to copyright except works of the fine arts.

For every article deposited there is required to be filed an affidavit "setting forth the manner in which compliance has been had" with these requirements. Not only is there imposed the burden of executing and filing many thousands of such useless affidavits, but the irritating necessity for our publishers of books and newspapers to swear in each case that they have used their own presses! The absurdity of this requirement is manifest. It would seem that for many cogent reasons the time has now arrived for the removal from our copyright legislation of these archaic requirements.

The incorporation of this obligatory manufacture brought into our legislation for the first time the restrictions upon the importation of copies of the foreign author's own edition of his book. The copyright bills contained detailed provisions relating to this matter amounting to 120 lines of print (Sections 28-31). At the hearings by the Committee of the House of Representatives the Department of State criticized these proposals and recommended that Section 30 be struck from the bill on the ground that its provisions "are designed for the protection of American manufacturing industry" and "are without necessary connection with copyright or with a statute governing copyright." Thereupon the House Committee on Patents altered the text of the bill so as to restore to libraries their present importation privileges, but applied new restrictions upon importation by the individual book buyer. Senator Cutting, during the debate on the copyright bill, spoke in disparagement of this provision and intimated that were it not for nearness to the end of the session he would propose an amendment. It is imperatively required.

Other amendments, not required to permit entry into the Copyright Union but nevertheless highly desirable, are, first, provisions for the legal separation of the various rights comprised in copyright so that each may be dealt with separately and singly and the copyright owner may be permitted to sell any part of his general copyright—such as the right of dramatization or of translation or of use for a motion picture—instead of being subject to the present highly inconvenient necessity of parting with his whole copyright in order to transfer some special part thereof; second, the abrogation of the fixed royalty for the use of copyright music for mechanical reproduction, which, the chairman of the House Committee on Patents declared, would remove "abuses and evils and injustices which have prevailed for nineteen years."

Finally, as concerns the period of copyright, which I discussed at length in *The Nation* of June 24, much could be said in favor of the union term. The fact that some forty countries have adopted it speaks in its favor. It seems probable that it will become the term most widely accepted. Ultimately even the United States may adopt it. But in view of the existing opposition to that proposal, it may be feasible to adopt some reasonable compromise. It is possible to substitute for our present detrimental double term a single term of copyright, to vest in the author from the creation of his work and to continue until the termination of fifty-six years from the date of the first publication or first public performance of the work.

So far as existing copyrights are concerned, they would be taken care of by simply leaving Section 24 of the Act of 1909 in force, which permits an increase of protection for another twenty-eight years beyond the end of the first term of copyright if application for such extension is made to the Copyright Office and registered therein within one year prior to the expiration of such first term of protection.

The great mass of copyrighted works survive publication for only a comparatively short period. But there are some works of such character and value that an even longer term of protection than fifty-six years after publication should in justice be accorded to them in behalf of their authors or the families or heirs of such authors. One method for at least partly meeting this reasonable demand would be to authorize the reprinting by anyone of such books after the expiration of the proposed term of fifty-six years upon the payment of a fixed royalty upon the retail price at which the reprint is sold.

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All these improvements should be secured by suitable amendments. But it is not at all necessary, in order to do so, to abandon all existing copyright legislation. Denunciation of the Copyright Act of 1909 has been encouraged as propaganda for the enactment of a wholly new codification. But this was doing scant justice to that act, which was prepared with great patience and much industry upon the part of men well known in relation to literary and artistic property and its protection. It is perhaps well to be reminded that among them were Edmund C. Stedman, Bronson Howard, Edward Eggleston, Mark Twain, Thomas Nelson Page, Robert Underwood Johnson, Edward Everett Hale, Henry van Dyke, R. R. Bowker, George Haven Putnam; John Philip Sousa, Victor Herbert; John W. Alexander, Karl Bitter, Frank D. Millet; and, of lawyers, Paul Fuller, Edmund Wetmore, Colonel Stephen Olin, Samuel J. Elder, and Edward S. Rogers. In Congress devoted service was rendered by Senators Kittredge and Smoot, and Representatives Currier and Washburn.

It should be borne in mind, also, that there is value in such court decisions as have been obtained under that act, which have elucidated its provisions and made clear their meaning and application, and that it is not desirable to depart so far from the original text of the existing law as to lose the value of such judicial interpretation. Much has happened affecting authors' rights since the Act of 1909 went into effect, and it is admitted that amendatory legislation is required to meet the changes which have taken place. But common sense dictates practical proposals for the minimum textual alteration necessary to cure the maximum copyright difficulties.

In the Driftway

ALL the excitement in Republican Spain is welcome to the Drifter, who glories in the revolution. But none of the reports have set him at peace regarding certain things that trouble him. He serves notice that he is ready to shout for the monarchy any day the new regime starts to abolish the Spanish donkey. Spain without donkeys would be like Manhattan without Brooklyn. In a true sense the donkey, whatever his shortcomings, has helped to make Spain. A car will take you around more quickly, and over some of the most delightful roads in the world; but who would want to go to Spain knowing that the donkey was no more, and that half the charm of the countryside was no longer to be enjoyed? If the donkey cannot be used profitably in the new order, why not at least do as the former government did and allow selected donkeys to live on the earnings of the peasants? The ones the Drifter thinks of would nowise be so greedy. Culture, tradition, art, architecture, literature—the Drifter means no offense, but for himself, the more he sees of human culture anywhere, the more he takes to donkeys.

* * * * *

IF there is another creature possessing the same kindliness, patience, and philosophical humor as the donkey, the Drifter would like to know its name. Even when a Spanish donkey feels it necessary to assert itself, the minute its heels are lowered to the ground those flashing eyes are turned around to reveal a half-conscious smirk, as if to say, "I'm sorry if I hurt your feelings." Along a road outside of Alcalá the Drifter once saw a buff-colored donkey being tormented by a young goat, the latter gifted with more energy than wisdom. After long ignoring the most obvious threats, until the offensive quarrel-picker's head was within lazy reach, the nonchalant donkey, almost with a world-weary sigh and scarcely interrupting its joyous grazing on the frayed side of a tether rope, poked one sharp little hoof into the goat's nuzzle and sent it bleating with outraged astonishment over the dusty red plateau.

* * * * *

AND what has happened to the midget golf that insinuated itself, like a simpering maiden, into this stern land of bullfights? Halfway between Madrid and the Escorial, that pile of ancient stone thirty miles away where the kings of old lived and died, the Drifter once saw a Tom Thumb golf course. Nobody was there; but is anybody ever there when it comes to Tom Thumb golf? Bullfights were unknown in Spain for many generations, after centuries of familiarity; they were reintroduced a hundred years or so ago by an alien king from France, Joseph, brother of Napoleon, who wished to make himself solid with the masses. This gruesome sport may go into obscurity again, and the Drifter hopes it will. But if it goes, something must take its place. Midget golf, at first thought, seems a trifle tame. But if illuminated so that the Spaniards, after eating their usual ten o'clock dinners, could wander out for a few hours' play before retiring at the sober hour of 3 a.m., even this diversion of dotards might tire them out and ultimately cheat the gory arena; for nothing that the Drifter can think of could be so fatiguing to a lively Spaniard—and don't believe they're lazy people—as Tom Thumb golf. But be it midget golf or what not, the Drifter's pious hope for Spain is twofold: that bull-butchery may go, and the donkey's sweet laugh be long heard in the land.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Applying the Brakes

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the issue of *The Nation* for June 24, in the article on The Tragedy of Herbert Hoover, is a statement which piqued my interest: "But if the major responsibility of the panic is not his, there are minor responsibilities for which he can be and is justly held responsible. His Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve could have put some brakes on the stock-exchange speculation long before the crash."

I am interested to know just what these two organizations could have done and what method they could have employed.

Washington, D. C., June 29 B. M. JOYCE

[The simplest thing would have been sharp and courageous action in raising the rediscount rates of the Federal Reserve banks. Authority for such increase was sought by various of the Federal Reserve banks and refused by the board in the face of clear warning from the most responsible bankers of the country. To quote a single example: on March 7, 1929, Mr. Paul M. Warburg, in an address commented on all over the

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world, declared, "Procrastination in bringing such rates into a proper relation to actualities and hesitation in taking effectual means to reassert the Federal Reserve's leadership place a grave responsibility on those in charge of its administration." That responsibility they share with those members of the President's official family who used their position for the encouragement rather than the discouragement of the wild speculation that led up to the crash.—EDITOR THE NATION.

Stone of Ohio State

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: When I was in Columbus, Ohio, I was informed that Mr. Julius Stone had been reappointed to the board of trustees of Ohio State University by Governor White, the Democrat now in office. His secretary writes me that I was misinformed and that Mr. Stone was reappointed in 1930 by former Governor Myers Y. Cooper.

I hasten to make this correction, adding, however, that the situation in Ohio State University requires of Governor White more than the negative credit of not being responsible for the reappointment of Mr. Stone.

A personal letter to me from a reader of *The Nation* showed a misunderstanding of my passing reference to Mr. Stone's German ancestry and the change in the family name from Stein to Stone. Nothing was farther from my thought than to reflect on German ancestry, or the good name Stein, or the right of a family to anglicize it if they want. I did mean to imply that under such circumstances Mr. Stone's ultra-solicitude for British imperialism in India as against Gandhi was peculiarly out of order.

New York, July 2 NORMAN THOMAS

Eighty Years After

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a letter published in *The Nation* for June 17, Upton Sinclair mentions the fact that Einstein's "2 per cent buttons" distributed by the pacifists in Los Angeles are being taken for agitation for 2 per cent beer. He also mentions "the story of "the days of the 1905 revolution in St. Petersburg, when the revolutionists shouted for a constitution and the troops thought that 'Constitutza' was the mistress of one of the grand dukes." Perhaps Mr. Sinclair would be more sympathetic with the mistaken people of Los Angeles if his attention were called to the fact that the incident that he refers to occurred in 1825, during the interregnum of the grand dukes Constantine and Nicholas, and not in 1905.

Minneapolis, June 17 SHELDON KARLINS

Up in a Balloon

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: With reference to the aeronautical achievements of Professor Piccard and Messrs. Lee and Brossy, *The Nation,* in the issue of June 10, indulges in one of its frequent bursts of unreasoned criticism. The sour skepticism of this particular editorial paragraph is such as to antagonize any fair-minded reader. Although *The Nation* renders a valuable service in many ways, its utter impotence in dealing with scientific matters is notorious. Let the writer of that paragraph read any of the elementary books on astrophysics and discover why cosmic rays are so tremendously interesting. Let him keep in touch with aircraft developments and learn about the practical advantages of the Diesel motor which kept Lee and Brossy aloft over eighty-four and one-half hours.

Philadelphia, June 8 ERNEST R. RECHEL

The Nation's Candidate

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The announcement on page 15 of your issue of July 1 that "*The Nation* will not support any nominee of the Republicans or Democrats" represents a change in policy that will be heartening to readers of the most influential progressive American weekly. It means that never will *The Nation* support a candidate like Al Smith in the hope of defeating a more reactionary Republican. It means that *The Nation* will always support a third party, for you are not anarchistic and will therefore never refuse to vote.

You certainly will not back the Communist or Prohibition parties, so you will doubtless give your valued support to the Socialists until such time as the League for Independent Political Action is able to place its candidates on the ballot.

New York, June 29 WILLIAM FLOYD

No Second Term

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It has for some time been clear that Mr. Hoover's friends were starting a campaign for his reelection in 1932; and you now give notice of an intention to unlimber your heavy artillery to meet them. But there is one thing that ought to be said in every reelection campaign, and tiresomely reiterated till every voter in the country is familiar with it. This is that a man who has gone through the strain of a first term as President is not physically fit for a second term, is not capable of doing as well in his second term as in his first. Bringing it down to brass tacks, no President since Andrew Jackson has gone through a second term with as much public favor as he had in his first term, or has gone through a second term ably enough to deserve as much credit as his first term deserved. The Presidency of the United States has become so big a job that it takes too much out of a man; when he starts his second term he is no longer the man that he was when he started his first, and all experience proves that his second term will be at a lower level than his first.

Ballard Vale, Mass., June 15 STEVEN T. BYINGTON

Amos 'n' Andy 'n' Herbert

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The time is June 15, 1931. The scene is a home, in which my father-in-law (Republican) and I (radical) are playing cribbage. The nine-o'clock whistle blows.

"Well," says my father-in-law, "shall we listen to what Amos 'n' Andy have to tell us?"

"Why not?" I lay down my cards in mild anticipation; but instead of the annunciatory strains we find ourselves listening to a speech.

"What in the world is that?"

"That," says my father-in-law, "sounds very much like Herbert Hoover, if I am not mistaken. Can it be that they are curting out Amos 'n' Andy?" And so it was.

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In their effort to "humanize" the President, couldn't they at least have had the foresight to see how disappointing his substitution must be to all the many adherents of Amos 'n' Andy? This egotism will cost him votes. People doubtless heard him who prior to that experience had always thought him a brainy chap, people who would never have known the contrary but for the fact that their radio habits caused them to listen in on doctrine garbled more than Andy himself could have garbled it. But perhaps Mr. Hoover actually chose this hour to be sure of an audience. If so, it is just another example of fools rushing in where even Will Rogers is content not to tread.

Duluth, Minn., June 16 H. J. GRIFFITH

Price Stablization

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Brazil tried price stabilization. Here is one result, as reported in a cablegram to the Chicago *Tribune:*

> RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL. The National Coffee Council here today destroyed 594,000 pounds of coffee, excess stocks, by throwing it into the ocean seventeen miles from shore. This method has been approved as more satisfactory than burning or dumping it near the shore. The latter method has led to the coffee being rescued by the poor.

Every attempt to set aside natural economic law has resulted in serious trouble. For more than a year and a half now the Federal Farm Board has been attempting to set aside natural economic law. In that period world consumption of American cotton has dropped from 15,076,000 bales in 1928-29 to only 5,200,000 bales for the first half of 1930-31. During the same period the consumption of foreign-grown cotton has relatively increased until now the world consumes more foreign-grown than American-grown cotton, though during 1928-29 it consumed only 10,800,000 bales of foreign as compared with 15,076,000 bales of American cotton.

New Orleans, June 18 WALTER PARKER

Disarm Now

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In *The Nation* for June 3 there was an editorial quoting and agreeing with Arthur Henderson's statement that the success of the world disarmament conference to be held next February is "the most vital need of the world today in the field of international relations." Mr. Henderson has also said that "the governments will do what the peoples want. If the people want disarmament they can have it."

In my experience, most people approve of disarmament. The great problem is to arouse them to the crucial situation in regard to world peace. While the militarists, both in the army and in industry, are actively on the job, I find many pacifists who are only discussion-interested, and unwilling really to work.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is circulating in forty countries an international disarmament petition, asking the governments to stand for total and universal disarmament at the conference next February. England has some twenty peace organizations pushing the petition, and a month ago had some 350,000 signers. They expect to get at least a million.

What is the situation in this country? The W. I. L. started its petition campaign last fall. On April 15 not quite 21,000 people had signed in the whole United States. Since that time there has been a general speeding up of the work, so that possibly the figures are doubled by this time, but at any rate, we are a long, long way behind England. If the disarmament conference is a failure, and the pacifists have not exerted every ounce of their energy to prevent its being so, they are to that extent guilty.

Won't readers of *The Nation* help circulate this petition? It certainly offers a very definite way of expressing public opinion. Canvass your church, your summer school, your clubs, your neighborhood. Petitions may be obtained from any local branch of the W. I. L. or from national headquarters at 1805 H Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Dr. Albert Einstein asked for the privilege of signing the petition. President Park of Bryn Mawr, President Comfort of Haverford, and President Aydelotte of Swarthmore are with us. Every historian approached has been glad to sign. Professors Charles A. Beard and Parker T. Moon are two of them.

Philadelphia, June 6 RUTH WANGER

Pioneer Youth

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: This month marks the eighth birthday of Pioneer Youth of America, a working-class undertaking which has come to be recognized as one of the most significant expressions of the workers' educational movement. Pioneer Youth conducts an experimental camp in the foothills of the Catskills which a group of trade-union representatives and leaders in the progressive educational movement established for workers' children. Beginning with raw land, the children and staff created most of the facilities needed for community living. They have cut through artificialities and conventional procedure, and are conducting a camp without points and prizes, without uniformity, without competition and regimentation, and have obtained amazing results.

Parents interested in a non-profit-making social camp community for their children, and individuals wishing to make its facilities available for workers' children requiring scholarships are invited to communicate with Pioneer Youth of America, 45 Astor Place, New York City.

New York, June 20 E. C. LINDEMAN

Political Prisoners' Relief

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Some eighty political prisoners are now in jail under sedition and criminal-syndicalism laws or because of strike or union activity. Their terms range from one year to life. The Prisoners' Relief Fund, with Robert W. Dunn as chairman, has been organized in order to send regularly each month to each of these prisoners $5 with which he can buy postage stamps, stationery, candy, fruit, books. And more important still, the fund undertakes to send each month to the dependents of each prisoner $20 to help meet rent and grocer's bills.

If every reader of *The Nation* who is not—for the moment at least—in prison for his political or economic beliefs or activities will send a check for from $1 to $20, no prisoner need go without his monthly payment and no prisoner's family need go hungry. Every cent that is contributed goes for this purpose, all overhead being covered by the International Labor Defense. Checks may be made payable to the Prisoners' Relief Fund, 80 East Eleventh Street, New York City.

New York, June 17 GRACE HUTCHINS

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Books

Meekness After Wrath

By MARK VAN DOREN

Of all perfected things,
Man-made or devil-god-made; yea, or both;
Nothing so undefective is, and fine,
As thundered wrath.

Nothing! save this mute
That follows like a lamb beside the udder,
Gesturing, when the mind—except it burst—
Cannot grow madder.

Nothing so pure as this—
The after-meekness, lacking any tongue;
Nor anything so powerful, though it lives—
Poor child—not long.

Books About Negroes

The Negroes of Africa. By Maurice Delafosse. Translated by T. Fligelman. Washington: The Associated Publishers. $3.15.

Djuka, the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana. By Morton C. Kahn. The Viking Press. $3.50.

Jungle Ways. By William B. Seabrook. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

THE appearance within a short time of these three books marks perhaps the highest point thus far in the flood of books about Negroes. The difference in the character of the three books, moreover, is not without significance, for it indicates how broad is the interest in this subject. The first volume is a translation from the French of a history and ethnology of the African peoples; the second, a serious account of travel among African tribes in South America; while the third is a good yarn about the "wild" inhabitants of the Ivory Coast and certain regions in the French territory of the Upper Volta.

It is good to have M. Delafosse's conclusions, based on his many years' work with and among Africans, available to the English-speaking public, and in a translation that has been done with as much care as Miss Fligelman has done her work. One is grateful to her for her attention to the transcription of the French spelling of African words, a spelling which, while phonetically correct for French, constitutes a trial to eyes accustomed to English. The difference between Ouagadougou and Wagadugu makes the point, and in choosing the latter, Miss Fligelman has chosen well. The volume would be more correctly named if it were called "The Negroes of West Africa," and it is a pity that the publishers did not see fit to go to the expense of having the maps, lifted bodily from the French edition, redrawn, with the names of tribes and cities and districts set down according to the orthography of the book. M. Delafosse's history, unfortunately, is political history, and thus makes dry reading. Though it is of value to have the story of the rise and fall of the various West African kingdoms in such handy form, I doubt whether many lay readers will have the patience to go through this portion of the book. The ethnological part is much more lively, and constitutes a fine summary of what we know of the customs of the West African peoples. However, with Professor Labouret, who contributes an excellent preface, one wonders at some of M. Delafosse's conclusions. To give one example: after some intensive work with a Dahomean native on the clans of Dahomey and what animals the members of the respective groups may not eat, and the reasons why they must "respect" their animal relations, it is rather a surprise to come across the statement that there is no totemism in West Africa. However, disagreements over points such as this are the affair of specialists, and need not deter one from commending the work as well worth reading.

Dr. Kahn's account concerns the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana. It is a travel book which gives a picture of the life of these Negroes while telling of the author's adventures among them. Having accompanied Dr. Kahn on one of his trips to these people, I can quite agree with Blair Niles's statement, in her preface to the book, that one of the outstanding characteristics of Dr. Kahn's account is its integrity. Unlike so many of the volumes of the past few years, wherein the cultures of various groups of Negroes have been sensationalized beyond recognition of what actually exists, Dr. Kahn reproduces soberly and faithfully what he saw. If one does not agree with some of his interpretations of the customs of the people he visited, or with some of his African correspondences, one is nevertheless quite sure that what is given is an honest conclusion based on what he actually observed. Dr. Kahn does not hesitate to say "I am told" when he writes of something reported to him, and this is something that most authors of popular books about Negroes might well learn from his example. His book is finely printed and beautifully illustrated, many of the photographs and line-cuts being of specimens of Bush Negro wood-carving which Dr. Kahn himself collected in the Guiana bush. Knowing his material, I regret that he did not confine himself to the photographs he himself took, for several of those which he credits as having been taken in the colony have already been published and are thus available elsewhere. One such photograph is unfortunately mislabeled, for the picture given of Jankoeso, chief of the Saramacca tribe, is not of this chief. In one of the appendices to the book there are reproduced some very important examples of a syllabaric writing that is used by the Auka tribe of Bush Negroes. This is very little known, if at all, and in publishing the sample he gives us, Dr. Kahn has put students distinctly under obligation to him.

Mr. Seabrook's book exhibits, as far as facts are concerned, his well-recognized tendency either to distort them beyond recognition or to call by the term fact something that is, at best, an account given him by some old-timer. With it all, his style is excellent, and if his accounts were presented as hearsay, or as his impressions of what he saw on his travels, there would be no objection to the books he writes. As it is, however, it is impossible to take his material at face value even for the purpose of criticizing it. I marvel at his findings. For one thing, after some years' experience in the investigation of Negro cultures, I wonder where Mr. Seabrook finds his native friends—men and women who control the most esoteric material of their civilization—who are ready to tell him everything they know. What is the case, of course, is that they simply do not exist outside Mr. Seabrook's mind, and if I were to stop to point out the errors in the account of some of the simplest facts of the cultures of which Mr. Seabrook writes, or to name the sources from which he derives a great deal of his information (reading M. Delafosse's book will indicate something of what I mean), I should require much more space than this deserves. Nevertheless, as I have already said, one must admire Mr. Seabrook's facility of language and the way he knows his public. Adventure? Read how he crossed the

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mysterious bridge into Liberia, and what he found there. Sex? Turn to the account of the phallic cult among the Habbé, or, better still, read the tale of Wamba, the beautiful *fétichiste,* and how she shared Mr. Seabrook's mat with him. (Here in West Africa may I be pardoned for wondering what the author did with his mosquito net?) Shivers? Learn how to cook an excellent steak from the thigh of your neighbor. Do you enjoy the feeling of being an intellectual? Read the sprinkling of Einstein, Paul Morand, and Brancusi, and the philosophizing as to whether magic is or is not. Where Mr. Seabrook got his ideas of these matters one cannot say, but they are as far from the African type of reasoning as can be imagined, and one thing is certain—that no African gave them to him.

I have said enough, however, about this book. When one compares it to the other two, one realizes what a pity it is that works of its sort must appear, and still more what a pity that they constitute so often the best sellers. For if the truth be known, the facts about African life are so much more fascinating, even sensational, in their reality than Mr. Seabrook's account of them that they quite shame the feeble glimmer of their verity that is found in this book.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

Whitman and His Friends

Whitman and Burroughs, Comrades. By Clara Barrus. Houghton Mifflin Company. $5.

WHEN young John Burroughs met middle-aged Whitman all his senses were alert to the importance of discovering a leader. What he found was a man who confused his contemporaries and whose inconsistencies have always been a source of annoyance to his biographers. The warm handclasp, the dignity of physical appearance, the lack of social poise, the sensual, drooping eyelid, the loosely phrased generalities that rolled from oratorical lips, the personality that repelled and attracted both men and women were all something of a mystery to those who met him. Though Burroughs's acknowledgment of Whitman as a master was immediate and continued throughout the course of his own career, the personality of John Burroughs remained intact. He could take his Whitman or leave him. He understood Whitman's large gesture of friendliness toward all humanity and his deep, impersonal warmth that was extended into an ideal of Emersonian democracy. Burroughs had much of the same impersonalized attitude toward his friends; it enabled him to see Whitman clearly and steadily, to make much of his value to American literature, and to discount the casual flaws in his character.

The Whitman circle in Washington and later in Camden was an extraordinary company. There was William O'Connor, brilliant, vivid, erratic. He quarreled with Whitman over the question of Negro slavery, but was the first to come to his defense when Whitman lost his job as clerk in the Department of the Interior. There were a handful of semi-illiterate and completely lost post-Civil War young men who clung to Whitman as to a mother's apron-strings. There was Anne Gilchrist, an admirable little woman who made a transatlantic pilgrimage to sit at Whitman's feet in Camden. And last of all, Horace Traubel and Edward Carpenter. All these drew their sustenance from Whitman's radiating glory. They constituted what may be called Whitman's family. Burroughs alone was able to negotiate an honest exchange of friendship with Whitman, to influence Whitman's wide range of observation, and to absorb Whitman's influence, recreating it, as it were, into his own idiom. The rest of the company, like most disciples, were a rather pathetic lot. Despite their daily contact with Whitman, none of them seemed to know him intimately. Like a monstrous white whale he eluded them. Love for him settled in their brains with something of the density of a thick warm fog. At times they could discern a shoulder, a hand, or the vague outline of the bearded head, masculine in contour and yet curiously womanish, motherly in the same sense that we think of earth as being so. The fog enters Traubel's monumental effort to emulate Boswell; one plows through it patiently so as to catch, wherever possible, the oracular roar of Whitman's voice, but always there is considerably more fog than Whitman. Burroughs, living some distance away on the Hudson with brief visits to New York City and journeys across seas to England, is the better guide. His eyes are wide to all natural phenomena, including man. Whitman as a particular man is worthy of strict observation.

Dr. Barrus has given us the complete story of the Whitman-Burroughs relationship. It is evident that she has an honest admiration for both men, but she is not tricked into attitudes of awe concerning them, nor is she hampered by the necessity of proving a preconceived theory. She handles a large body of source material, arranging it by selection so as to form a coherent narrative. In this fashion the entire story of Whitman's dismissal from the Department of the Interior is accurately reproduced, including a large share of O'Connor's valiant defense of Whitman against a would-be reign of terror perpetrated by Anthony Comstock. There are generous extracts from the Whitman-Burroughs correspondence, from which both men emerge in sharply defined detail, and for those who are interested in the question of Whitman's illegitimate children, there is a plausible answer. Dr. Barrus is inclined to believe there were none, though Whitman on his deathbed spoke of having two—a son and a daughter—both dead. Dr. Barrus's work is an excellent example of sturdy, unbiased scholarship, annotated at intervals by the most reliable of contemporary authorities on Whitman, Mr. Clifton J. Furness.

HORACE GREGORY

Violence on a Business Basis

Dynamite: The Story of Class Violence in America. By Louis Adamic. The Viking Press. $3.50.

IN the United States a vociferous chorus has been proclaiming that violence is giving way to peace and harmony in all walks of life. Louis Adamic's book, "Dynamite," should serve as a reminder to those who have short memories that harmony between capital and labor is not only not on the increase in the United States, but that no other country can hold a candle to this in the extent and degree of violence that has occurred in connection with labor activities. Violence did not abate even during the reign of the American Federation of Labor, notwithstanding its insistence on harmony between capital and labor, and its emphasis on collective bargaining and the sanctity of trade agreements. The Ludlow massacre, the violence of the "Cossacks" during the steel strike, and many other similar cases were experienced even by unions that were members of the American Federation of Labor. They are instances of the rejection by the powerful capitalists of the olive branch tendered by the conservative unions. On the other side of the ledger there are the cases in which labor in its desperation took the offensive and meted out punishment, or waged open warfare on capital; the McNamara attempt to unionize the structural-iron workers is the most glaring example.

Since the war the character of the labor struggles has undergone a change. Whereas previously it had been carried on, so to speak, in an unbusinesslike manner and as an amateurish auxiliary activity, it has now, in line with capitalistic development, become a "corporate" business enterprise. Labor and

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capital have both accepted the change. Now they usually turn to professional mercenaries directed by the racketeers. To such a pass have events come in the outstanding capitalistic country that even the radicals find it necessary to hire help from the standing armies of the racketeers. As in pre-war days the newspapers depicted the colorful struggles between the buccaneers of industry, commerce, and finance, they now entertain their readers by lurid accounts of the battles between rival racketeering gangs.

And what has the future in store for us? Adamic rightly predicts that in view of the new rationalization of violence, the generally unsettled conditions, and the general economic readjustment downward due to unemployment and wage reduction, violence in labor matters is inevitable. Since this book has been written we have had confirmation of this prediction, notably in the experience of the full-fashioned hosiery workers and the coal miners in Pennsylvania. Indeed, in both cases it was American Federation of Labor unions that experienced the attacks of employers and the public authorities. In fact, the history of violence in the labor movement reveals that both employers and public authorities administer violence indiscriminately toward conservatives and radicals. Similarly, all shades in the labor movement resort to violence from time to time. And so the class war goes on whether we like it or not.

Not only has Adamic presented an admirable picture of class violence in its various ramifications, but he has given us a worthy sequel to the brilliant pre-war book on "Violence" by Robert Hunter. The two supplement each other, in that Hunter's book concerns itself primarily with the history of the philosophies and theories of violence, whereas Adamic's book is confined chiefly to a lucid history of the actual practices and events in the United States. Students of labor and social problems should be as indebted to Adamic as they are to Hunter for his valuable contribution to American social literature.

DAVID J. SAPOSS

Letters of a Man and an Artist

Letters of John Marin. Edited with an Introduction by Herbert J. Seligmann. New York: Privately printed for An American Place.

ABOUT seventy-five letters, from 1910 to 1930, by the water colorist to his artist-patron and friend Alfred Stieglitz, along with certain notes written for art publications, make up this unusual volume. Unusual in the first place in that the principals are alive: one might expect a certain embarrassment—or elision—on that account. But though a name or two are blanked, there is little cause for worry here. Because the writer possesses those qualities which give truth without offense: forthrightness, casualness, humor. In a word, genuiness. And this in turn suggests what else is unusual in the volume. So a privilege ordinarily deferred—viewing a man through his letters—is offered while all is still going on.

Occasionally a paragraph in these letters has a sheer literary value. I want to quote one:

> They have trees here, too, wonderful evergreens, the more beautiful in their last death throes when the wonderful parasite moss begins creeping upwards and along the branches. Here and there a green piece holding out and then, lo, they are in their death clothes, beautiful, wonderful death wraps.

The expression there is really literary. But for the most part that is not their success, their interest; as with most letters, the interest is in the man and the artist, the man back of the artist. And here there is distinction enough. Personal even to grammar and punctuation, there is a native gnarliness, a pawky honesty, about these letters which makes them delightful reading, and deserving of their present state.

With regard to the artist: one will get no elucidation of a formula here, no revelation of method or trick. But for the sensitive reader the volume is full of light. There is the paragraph on "fewer strokes—still fewer strokes. . . . A full mellow ring to each stroke." Consider that when you look next at a Marin. There is the paragraph on the artist's medium, whatever it is, as an instrument to give out "the *sing* of his life." How many workers in the arts—even poets, even musicians—try to accomplish their ends by analysis alone, by criticism, by doctrine, by smartness—never coming to the sheer "sing" of themselves, which is simplicity of heart! There is the paragraph on respecting the several identities of the things in front of one as well as the unity of one's picture. That's something, too. All through the letters there is the sense of a continual struggle to "get at" the thing, to be true to both outer and inner vision, not relapsing into a mere transcription of either.

Above all, as one reads, one feels the substance, the feeling back of the vision, which must be the man himself. His feeling for place and life—in this case for that type of elemental scene with which we connect Marin: "Sky, Sea, Mountain, Plain"; the "big forms" almost if not quite dominating the human life there, making it knotty, a little contrary, yet full of character. "But to express these, you have to love these, to be a part of these in sympathy"—I quote Marin. "One doesn't get very far without this love."

FERNER NUHN

White Majesty

The White King of La Gonave. By Faustin Wirkus and Taney Dudley. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.50.

THE worst thing about this book is the ballyhoo that preceded its appearance, which likewise finds expression on the jacket. I was prepared to set it down as another of the numerous pieces of literary propaganda designed to nourish American prejudices and delusions. But between the covers the book is—amazing! Here is a Nordic, white American—though not a Protestant, Nordic, white American (maybe that explains all)—and a Marine sergeant to boot, who actually likes the black Haitians. Really likes them—not Dixie style—and despite the fact that he occasionally—at first—shows the effects of his Occupational environment, treated them like human beings. And so he won their friendship and respect, and even more, their affection. What a lot his superior officers of the Occupation might have learned from him!

As a straight adventure story of a unique experience, the tale stands up well. A tropical island, especially one as virgin as La Gonave, makes an ideal setting. But as a document in an obscure and complex chapter of history, imperialism, interracial and intercultural relations, the book contains much of greater value. There is, for instance, this casual glimpse of our *mission civilisatrice* in action:

> Wandering down the trail . . . I came to a pole some eight feet high on which straw hats were spiked through their crowns up to at least six feet from the ground. I was curious. I went back to camp and asked what the idea was spoiling such a perfectly useful lot of native hats.
>
> "Oh, that's Williston's attendance record," Blake told me. "It's everybody for himself up here, you know. Each man takes his orders his own way." . . .
>
> "Williston believes that orders to 'get' a Caco (or a bandit) means literally what the old story about the centipede and the tarantula does. 'You had best get him before he first gets you.'" . . .
>
> "He never bothers to bring in the bodies of the men he 'gets.' . . . He just brings in the hats and he files them

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> on that pole down there to let the rest know what to expect. It's going to get him into trouble, some time, because he's apt to 'get' somebody he shouldn't."

Then there is the Occupation's interpretation of that useful titillant of prejudice back home—*voudou*. "Officially we were informed," writes Sergeant Wirkus, "that the voodoo cult was the medium of black magic, blasphemy, treason to Haiti and the United States, communism, and all the other evils that government today is believed to be heir to"; and "we had orders from headquarters . . . to make a report leading to criminal punitive action . . . 'on all voodoo artists.'"

Of course folklore and folk-ways were beyond the high command's comprehension. And there is an interesting analogy between the way the early Spanish conquistadores and accompanying friars treated the native customs—and codices—in Yucatan, Anáhuac, and Peru, a performance roundly denounced in retrospect by our historians, and the manners and methods of our twentieth-century white invaders. Making allowance for differences in time and place, the conquerors' psychosis was much the same. The Americans might have learned a great deal about the native *mores* from such an eminent authority as Dr. Price-Mars (recently elected to the Haitian Senate), but consulting Haitians about themselves wasn't done. (Instead they arrested Dr. Price-Mars for the forced road labor of the *corvée*.)

As for Wirkus—he achieved a great triumph over his environment. Never having the good fortune to meet any cultured Haitians, he reveals—and how revealing it is—his second-hand misinformation that they were all "trouble-making politicians"—the Occupation's prize cliché. Had he met them, probably his touch of nature would have established kinship with them also. They too might have shared in the sentiment that prompted the Gonavian peasants to feel—and one of them to say: "Your white skin has nothing to do with your heart and soul."

But Wirkus—an elite in heart and soul among his fellows who came with ignorance, and hence with contempt and hatred, in their hearts and souls—was helped to his unique success by a fortuitous freedom from supervision. In his own words: "It was a great satisfaction to . . . see . . . how much could be accomplished by leaving a man alone to study the people and make up his mind how they were to be helped to help themselves, rather than driven into doing things according to the rules and regulations of outsiders who had no understanding of them at all."

And being the only one of his kind, he was intuitively recognized as such. His kingship was *pour le mérite*.

ERNEST GRUENING

New Mexico Today

Starry Adventure. By Mary Austin. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

NEW MEXICO of the Pueblo Indians, New Mexico of the cowboy regime, New Mexico of the Spanish conquests—all this has been the subject for a number of admirable novels. But no one has written of New Mexico as a land sought for health and happiness, and this is actually the New Mexico of today. How many Eastern families have come West for this purpose and this purpose only and have consequently come to know a new country. It is of one such isolated group in its alien surroundings that Mary Austin chooses to write. She knows her subject from personal experience and she knows New Mexico as very few writers know it.

We meet the Sitwells: Professor Sitwell who must make the long and, in this case, futile struggle against disease in a country which is imprisonment to him, since it cannot afford him the culture, the libraries, the classrooms which are his rightful domain. His wife is with him, a sensitive woman, more capable of adjustment to her surroundings than is her sick husband. Then there are the two children, Laura and Gard—Gard a mere baby. It is upon Gard chiefly that the country writes its message. Gard alone is capable of building in this land of high blue mountains and loneliness a complete and different education for himself. The years bring about undramatic but important changes in each of these characters. The father of the family dies, but his children remain perfectly in tune with the new environment, choosing it for home.

"Starry Adventure" is perhaps just a bit sentimental in its message, but its message is not very important. The book is a fine piece of realism. Miss Austin knows every detail of the ranch life, knows the country and its changes, knows the Mexicans and the Indians living in it, the strangers coming into it from the East. She has written all this down with reserve and with considerable distinction. She is interested chiefly in the effect of country upon character, and she convinces us of the changes her people live through. She is, moreover, a very good story-teller; the novel has plot and movement and emotion which is not merely sensationalism.

EDA LOU WALTON

Soviet Children and American Adults

New Russia's Primer. The Story of the Five-Year Plan. By M. Ilin. Houghton Mifflin Company. $1.75.

WHY is it that this book written in Russian by a Soviet engineer for Soviet children aged twelve to fourteen should be printed for American adults and accepted by the Book of the Month Club for at least 40,000 grown-ups in this country? The book deals with the Five-Year Plan which is so much discussed in America's fashionable drawing-rooms, not to speak of women's clubs and the fashion magazines. The hostess must know what it is all about. So must the tired business man. And here it is set forth—briefly and very delightfully.

But serious persons whose mental age exceeds fourteen will also read it with relish and absorbing interest, for it reflects present-day Russian psychology better than the best modern Soviet fiction. An engineer composes a children's book, and nothing is more typical of the new Russia. One sees how the mind of the new Russian generation is being molded; how its thinking is being directed. "We should take nothing on faith," says Engineer Ilin. "Why the Five-Year Plan?" he asks the Soviet youth. "Why these factories?" "We change nature," he replies, "in order that people may live better."

> [Man] is not a machine. He has a mind that wants to know, eyes that want to see, ears that want to hear, a voice that wants to sing, feet that want to run and jump and dance, hands that want to row and swim and catch. We must organize life so that not merely the lucky ones but all may be able to feel the joy of living.

The last chapter is on New People. The Five-Year Plan aims to make a new man—at least to conceive him.

The Bolsheviks have banished fairies from juvenile literature. But what need is there of creating a world of myths and gnomes when the new society rising under their very eyes is so exciting, romantic, and fascinating? Ilin's book is not of a unique type in Soviet literature for children. My Vitya, aged seven, and Yurka, one year his senior, demand that we buy at least a few new books each week, and soon I find

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myself absorbed in "How Rubber Became Galoshes," "How Cotton Became Textiles," "Turksib," "The Postman"—all expensively and exquisitely illustrated. The dreaming, impractical nation of Slavs is being taught to think of machines, of figures, of efficiency, not for the sake of these things themselves, but because under present conditions there is no other way of lifting 160,000,000 Soviet citizens from their miserably low standard of living. Ilin's primer is so thrilling because it affords a glimpse of the reeducation of a race. One could do it justice only by endless quotation. I cannot see how any teacher will dare to miss the book.

I have often stopped on Moscow street corners to watch a group of Pioneers or Young Communists. And something in their demeanor and manner has made me say to myself: "These people will be free. In them Russia is being reborn." I get the same feeling from reading "New Russia's Primer." It grips you, and instead of you yelling, it yells: "This revolution is tremendous, bigger far than the dirt which accompanies it, the people who lead it, the pigmies who write about it, and the men who suffer from it." LOUIS FISCHER

The Literary Magazine

English Literary Periodicals. By Walter Graham. Thomas Nelson and Sons. $7.50.

TODAY the literary magazine is so prominent both in the encouragement of emerging talent and in the publication of work of positive merit that its history must be of interest to all students of literature. Mr. Graham is to be commended, therefore, for providing us with the first complete study of this vast field. If, as I read through description after description of the several hundred periodicals, I sometimes longed for a richer treatment of the background and a more constant relating of the elementary facts to the stream of literary tendency, I can still conscientiously report that Mr. Graham's is a book that all future interpreters of the field will find basic and indispensable.

Establishing the source of the literary periodical as the *Term Catalogue* of books of 1668, Mr. Graham indicates the development by way of the Question-and-Answer serial ("Q. When had angels their first existence? A. Who but an angel knows?") into the essay periodical that culminated in the *Tatler* and *Spectator*. (These first few chapters are actually a rewriting of the author's earlier book on the "Beginnings of English Literary Periodicals, 1665-1715," with some slight revision of judgments and a general correction of inaccuracies.) There is an extended treatment of the growth of the miscellanies in the seventeenth century and the progression into the modern "magazine," which was originally only a storehouse of articles that had appeared in other periodicals, somewhat similar to the contemporary *Living Age*. The reviews that began in 1790 are traced back for their origin to the early learned periodicals consisting chiefly of summaries of scholarly books, and then brought forward to the *Criterion*. Chapters on the weekly review, at present the most common form, and on poetry, drama, and comic magazines indicate the general specialization of function that the serial has undergone. Parallel to these categories, Mr. Graham also develops several pertinent elements, such as the disappearance of anonymity in contributors, the increase in importance and critical honesty of the book review, the practice of paying for contributions, and the heightened literary merit of these contributions.

The scholarly apparatus is excellent: each periodical is described as regards dates of publication, names of editors, publishers, and contributors, nature of the articles and their literary quality, and the size and format of the layout; there are also a good bibliography and index. In several instances the allotment of space seemed to me disproportionate, as when the *Yellow Book* is disposed of in less than a page (whereas many an imitation of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* is given more) or W. E. Henley's *Scots,* later *National, Observer,* the most frequently quoted magazine of its time, is slighted in a paragraph. There is an occasional omission (the *Anglo-Saxon Review,* a quarterly edited by Mrs. George Cornwallis-West, 1899-1901; the *Adelphi,* a monthly edited by J. M. Murry, 1924-27) and an unaccountable inclusion of Henley, who died in 1903, among the contributors to the *Athenaeum* of 1920. But such minutiae do not, of course, detract from the qualities of sound scholarship constantly in evidence.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

Books in Brief

A Scottish Man of Feeling: Some Account of Henry Mackenzie, Esq., of Edinburgh and of the Golden Age of Burns and Scott. By Harold William Thompson. Oxford University Press. $5.

Henry Mackenzie's dates (1745-1831) are almost coincidental with those of Goethe. Both were "men of feeling." Both were poets, novelists, dramatists, critics during a Golden Age of their respective literatures. Both became grand old men of letters. There the analogy ceases. Goethe was the genius of his age and culture. Mackenzie's fame has been overshadowed by his own proteges, younger men whom he so generously fathered into literature, preeminently Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott. But Mr. Thompson does well to choose the "Scottish Addison" as the central figure in his scholarly history of the period which produced so many great Scotsmen in so many and varied walks of life. This is a thorough, well-written, and provocative study of an age, of a people, of a literature, and of a culture, by an American scholar who three years ago discovered and caused to be published Mackenzie's "Anecdotes and Egotisms," a most important book of reminiscenses. Both for the scholar and for the general reader who loves the literature of Scotland's Golden Age, Mr. Thompson has produced a valuable work.

Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade: 1844-1847. By James Josiah Webb. Edited by Ralph P. Bieber. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company. $6.

This, the first of twelve volumes to be edited by Mr. Bieber as The Southwest Historical Series, is the autobiography of a trader who knew the Santa Fé Trail a decade later than Josiah Gregg, whose "Commerce of the Prairies" is the standard account of life along the Trail. Webb adds much to our knowledge of the period and place he lived in; it is to be hoped that the series as planned can be brought to its conclusion.

The Web of Youth. By W. E. Suskind. Translated by Malcolm Campbell. Brewer and Warren. $3.

W. E. Suskind is introduced by Thomas Mann as one of the most gifted and representative members of the generation of young German writers. His novel, "The Web of Youth," is concerned with that generation of boys who were still in school during the war and very young men during the post-war inflation and consequent deflation. Fleming, the leading character, is the average lower-middle-class boy. His grandfather has seen the gathering and his father the breaking of the war clouds. He himself and his young friends are at first strangely detached from the reality of the war: their school activities, their early adventures are, as always with youth, more important to them than the affairs of their country. Some

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of them are sickly from undernourishment, some of them actively radical but without much sense of direction, all of them have indirectly but not very consciously felt the disillusionment of the war period. Their outer and inner lives are analyzed with great sensitiveness by the novelist, whose method is that of understatement and realism. We see all these boys in the "plastic age," changing before our eyes as gradually they are forced into some comprehension of the world in which they live. Their pitiful idealism soon fades, their youth itself is unable to endure the stress put upon it, and they are all grown old early. The book is an excellent, quietly written, and very illuminating study of the present period in Germany and of the influences molding the young men of that country.

Thirty-One Families Under Heaven. By Georg Fink. Translated by Lillie C. Hummel. Horace Liveright. $2.50.

A German tenement district with its variety of inhabitants and miseries is the rambling subject of a novel not so distinguished as Stephen Crane's "Maggie" or Somerset Maugham's "Liza of Lambeth," but possessing a subjective intensity marred now and then by sentimentality and generally by flatness of style. The most interesting episode lies outside the pale of the tenement in the story of the foolish marriage of the narrator's mother to his blond, brutal father. Only at the very end of the book does one realize that the author had any other intention than to write another account of personal misery; and then this intention seems forced upon him by the necessity of rounding the book off. A more complete realization of his purpose would have forced a more objective approach to his subject matter.

Traitor or Patriot: The Life and Death of Roger Casement. By Denis Gwynn. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $3.50.

Casement was knighted in 1911 for his great work in exposing slave-trade horrors in the Congo and in the Putumayo district, a No Man's Land in South America. In 1916 he tried to organize Irish soldiers in German prison camps to return home, with Germany's consent, and take part in a rebellion against British rule. But the prisoners were apathetic, and the Germans suspicious. One small shipload of munitions was sent by Germany, but Casement realized it was not enough and that the rising must fail, and he tried to halt it. Tried for treason, he pleaded that he had not adhered to the king's enemies, but to his own people. Masefield, Chesterton, Conan Doyle, and many others protested vainly against his execution, but there was never a chance for acquittal. Mr. Gwynn's book illuminates much that was obscure in the Casement story.

Eros Invincible. By Ricarda Huch. Translated from the German with an Introduction by William A. Drake. The Macaulay Company. $2.

Isolated from its context the love story of Frau Huch's novel is moving and successful. Shortly after his marriage, the almost godlike Ezard Ursleu finds that he is passionately attached to his cousin Galeide and she to him. For a long time they keep their passion secret in loyalty to the many people whose sorrow its disclosure would cause. But it cannot be hidden and it causes misery and death in the close-knit and decadent family of the Ursleus. With the death of Ezard's wife the lovers are ready to take their happiness. But now Galeide meets Gaspard, the brother of Ezard's dead wife, and falls in love with him. She is torn between loyalty to her love for the Apollonian Ezard and the power of the Dionysian Gaspard and she kills herself, partly to escape from the dilemma, partly to admit the completeness of Gaspard's power over her. Unfortunately, this story, which would have fitted D. H. Lawrence's hand so well and which he would

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have told in far fewer pages, must be picked out from its very dull context. The story is told by Galeide's brother and it assumes the character of his semi-pietistic, wholly objectionable mind. The decadent family, so proper a background for the story, is wrapped in a Novalis veil of sentimental mysticism which befogs and dampens the whole book.

The Antigone of Sophocles. Translated by John Jay Chapman. Houghton Mifflin Company. $10.

This beautiful folio contains a translation of the "Antigone" which, if not quite so beautiful, is nevertheless stately, intelligent, clear, and strong. Mr. Chapman, it would seem, has approached his task with an affectionate reverence, for he calls the "Antigone" "the best-written play in the world," which it probably is, and discloses in his memoranda at the end a special liking for the story and its heroine. His translation is hardly superior to several others which exist; but it is fine enough, and a reader would do well to renew his acquaintance with "Antigone" in this volume.

The English Captain, and Other Stories. By L. A. G. Strong. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

Mr. Strong is a careful observer of men, animals, and nature, and he records his observations concisely and exactly; his prose, though thoroughly traditional, is vivid and forceful. Unfortunately, his talent for visual perception is not accompanied by any equivalent insight into human psychology. The twenty stories in this volume are sketches with little or no plot; most of them are placed in Scotland, Ireland, or Devon, and deal with dialect-speaking fishermen and farmers or with the discontents of young married couples. The incidents related are lacking in significance; the author is content to set down what he sees, and there is little about his perceptions that is individual. The only exception is the title story: an Irishman recalls his boyhood in the summer before the war, when he witnessed the encounter in a friendly gathering of an English officer and an Irish patriot; the reactions of these potential enemies are shown with great subtlety, and the implication that one was killed in France and the other during Easter Week heightens the significance of the whole episode. Little else in this volume is worthy of the author of "Dewer Rides."

Life as We Have Known It. By Cooperative Working Women. Edited by Margaret Llewelyn Davies. With an Introduction by Virginia Woolf. London: The Hogarth Press. 5s.

Here are some personal sidelights on the growth of a notable English movement. In 1844, at Rochdale, twenty-eight flannel-weavers started a cooperative shop which in blazing the trail toward modern consumers' cooperation was to give a measure of practical fulfilment to the visions of Robert Owen. Today, nearly a hundred years later, the English Cooperative Wholesale Society alone is probably the largest commercial undertaking in England. The Women's Cooperative Guild, with nearly 1,400 branches and 67,000 members, was founded in 1883. Miss Davies, for many years its secretary, has here collected a group of autobiographical sketches written by working women themselves—present and past members of the guild. The sketches vary in length and mood, but there shows in all of them a rugged tenacity of purpose, a refusal to submit, without at least a constructive gesture, to circumstances tragically difficult, and a warm loyalty to the suffering millions who *do* so submit. These sketches may not be literature. They were not written as literature. But they are the stuff of which literature is made. Miss Davies has shown a nice tact in the arrangement and editing of her material, and the introduction by Virginia Woolf is a happy example of Mrs. Woolf's oblique penetration and persuasive good humor.

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Has Gandhi Sold Out?

By RICHARD B. GREGG

COMMUNISTS say that Gandhi has sold out to the British and to Indian capitalists. Many non-Communist friends of India are troubled and fearful for the future. The leading causes of such suspicions and fears are these:

1. Gandhi has agreed to go to a conference in London, though formerly he refused.

2. He has agreed to discuss safeguards, reservations, and federation with Indian states.

3. Gandhi is to be sole delegate of the Indian Congress at London.

4. Gandhi's love of non-violence may make him accept compromises in order to avoid violence.

5. It seems a terrible blunder to have arrested the momentum of the struggle for independence when its results were already so great.

Gandhi's willingness to go to London is explainable by changes in the British attitude since his refusal eighteen months ago. The year's struggle has compelled open admission by the British government of the great power of the Indian Congress, and advanced the idea of complete independence much farther in British as well as in Indian minds. Indian Congress representatives will now be treated with real respect. In contrast to the earlier situation, the conference agenda is now defined—to discuss responsible Indian government. True, the phrases "safeguards, reservations, and federation" were in the agreement, but the safeguards and reservations are to be only those which are "in the interests of India." And Gandhi has repeatedly stated, both before and after the agreement, that the safeguards and reservations proposed at the first Round Table Conference were not in the interest of India but of Britain only. As for federation, the Congress regards the Indian princes as a secondary difficulty. Their chief power comes from Britain, and if British power in India goes, the princes will lose theirs, and federation with the Indian states will cease to be a menace.

While it may seem dangerous to make Gandhi sole delegate of the Congress at the London conference, it is no more risky than the whole civil-disobedience movement, judged by ordinary standards. Gandhi is bound by the instructions of the Congress.

At the Karachi Congress Gandhi discussed fully the terms of the truce and the charges that he had compromised, or at London might compromise, be tricked, or sell out. He told the Congress:

> The power of repudiation is absolute if your agents act outside the power that you give them. . . . When they [the Congress delegates to the second London conference] have turned traitors and sold your cause, or when they have become so idiotic, so unintelligent as not to be able to see the many traps that might have been laid for them and thus fall into one of these traps . . . you have absolute right to repudiate all that they have done, and that power is good against the whole world. . . . You must understand that your delegation cannot be so stupid as to forget the sacrifices and the sufferings the nation has gone through. Rest assured that they will not sell the country. . . . All that I promise faithfully to you on my own behalf and on behalf of any delegation that you might wish to send with me is that we shall not be disloyal to the Congress in any shape or form.

Bearing in mind that the Delhi agreement is only a provisional truce, there are real advantages in the one-delegate plan. It will save much expense of money and energy. Also, as Mr. Gandhi wrote in *Young India* for April 9:

> Congress could not afford to keep away from the country its best workers for any length of time. In the end it will not be work at the conference that will bring Swaraj; it can only be work in India that can do it. Not the ability of the delegation will tell at the conference, but the power behind it. It was further thought that the Congress delegation was not designed to enter into or examine details but to discuss and examine principles and their application.

But will not Gandhi's love of non-violence make him compromise, yielding to the argument that violence and disorder will be the alternative to the acceptance of British terms? No. Last spring, before the march to the sea began, he wrote in *Young India* that non-violence must prove its power in the face of the worst violence, and that, indeed, there could be no true non-violent resistance until there was a violent situation in which to act. He also said that he would go ahead even though it should mean civil war. He now has a far larger number of devoted and disciplined followers than when he made those statements, and has proved to all the world the power of his method. Since the Delhi agreement he has told the Indians that they may have to renew their suffering.

Gandhi specifically stated at Karachi: "I have not much confidence in our getting what we want at the Round Table Conference." Even failure in negotiation, however, would not be barren; for his going will end the contention of the Indian Moderates—"If we had only all gone together, England could not have refused our demands." To refuse to go now would be to lose the support of world opinion. But world opinion would support a renewal of the struggle after failure in negotiation. Britain asked for this negotiation. In non-violent resistance the resister must, whenever possible, act and speak as if his opponent were going to do right, thus stimulating the spirit of justice latent in the heart of his opponent, even though the latter be imperialist and capitalist.

Gandhi believes that both economic and political freedom are much more a matter of moral character than of exterior organization, conferences, legislation, or particular persons in office. Indian independence will be achieved as soon as an effective majority of Indians are strong enough to refuse to be flattered by the British, to refuse to buy foreign cloth, to refuse to pay taxes, to stand lathi charges without flinching or counter-violence, to go to jail, to be willing to die non-violently for their cause. Such a state of

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mind and will is a living thing and requires time to grow. The period of truce is being used to stimulate this growth. This deeper political truth answers the idea that suspension of civil disobedience was a tactical blunder. The detailed hard work, self-control, and discipline shown by India since the Delhi pact are portentous. The difference between India on this occasion and at the time when Gandhi suspended civil disobedience in 1922 shows the marvelous growth in India's understanding of his method and in her readiness for self-government.

Gandhi's experience in struggling against all forms of exploitation is longer and more varied, intense, and thorough than that of any other Indian leader. His record of accomplishment is unparalleled. Neither British politicians nor capitalists of any nation can offer him any position equal in power, security, prestige, or happiness to what he has won by his own political ability, energy, determination, sacrifice, and devotion. He has not sold out, nor will he. He cannot be frightened or flattered. His understanding of exploitation is too profound to be deceived, and his love of truth and of the poor keeps him steady.

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Contributors to This Issue

ROMAIN ROLLAND, author of "Jean-Christophe," "Colas Breugnon," "Goethe and Beethoven," and many other world-famous works, and winner of the Nobel prize for literature in 1915, has been ever since the beginning of the World War the outstanding literary exponent of pacifism.

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